DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 361 242 SO 022 857

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TITLE Private Education in Australia and New Zealand. ISIS Document No. 33.
INSTITUTION Independent Schools Information Service, London (England).
REPORT NO ISIS-33A
PUB DATE Feb 87
NOTE 52p.; For other ISIS reports, see SO 022 854-856.
AVAILABLE FROM National Independent Schools Information Service, 56 Buckingham Gate, London, SW1E 6AG England, United Kingdom (2 British pounds, including inland postage and handling).
PUB TYPE Reports - Research/Technical (143)

EDRS PRICE MF01 Plus Postage. PC Not Available from EDRS.
DESCRIPTORS Comparative Education; Developed Nations; *Educational Policy; *Educational Practices; Elementary Secondary Education; Foreign Countries; *Private Education; Private Schools
IDENTIFIERS *Australia; *New Zealand

ABSTRACT

This comparative study of private education in Australia and New Zealand attempts to provide detailed information about the role, status, size, and prospects of the independent educational sector in each of the two countries and to show how it related to such information about other western democracies. The section of the report that concerns Australia is organized into nine sections: (1) "National Background"; (2) "Historical Development--Private Schools and the National System"; (3) "Government and Education"; (4) "Commonwealth Governments, the Schools' Commission and the Independent Schools"; (5) "The States and the Private Schools"; (6) "Statistics"; (7) "The Co-Ordination of Private Schools at Commonwealth and State Levels"; (8) "The Variety of Private Schools"; and (9) "The Status and Future of the Independent Schools." Comparable information is included in the section of the report that focuses on New Zealand. In recent years government support for private schools in each country has eroded somewhat. In both countries the private sector is still more autonomous, more accessible, and less selective in terms of ability and cost than those of most other democratic societies, and in Australia is responsible for the education of 26% of the total school population. (DB)

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PRIVATE EDUCATION IN AUSTRALIA AND NEW ZEALAND

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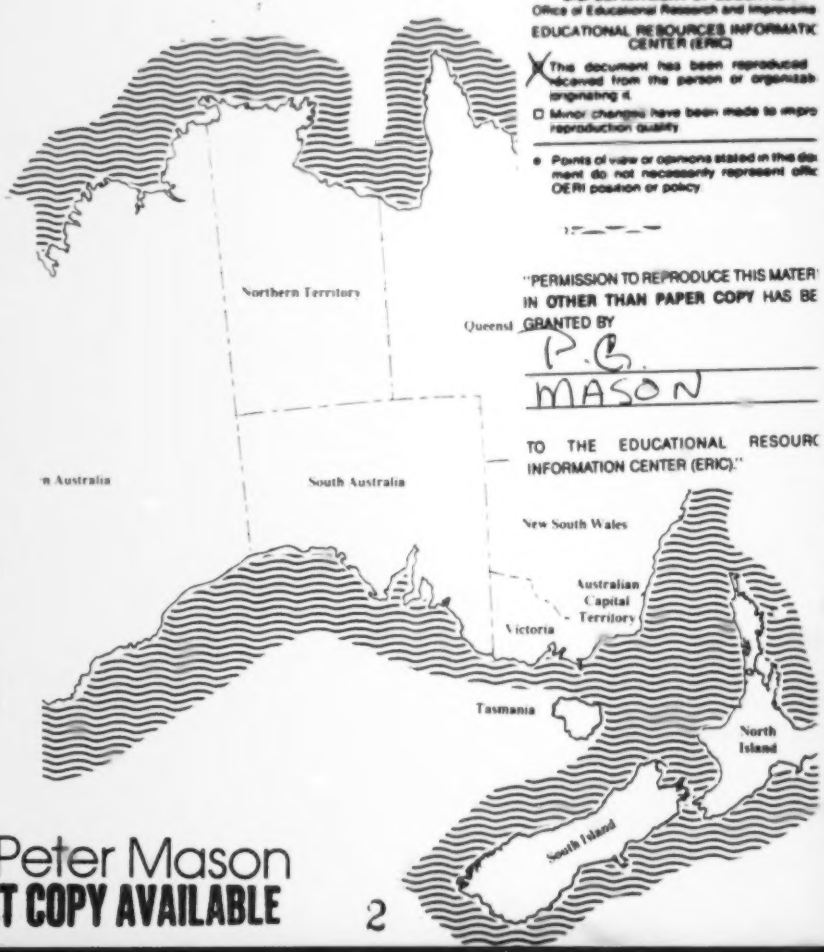

by Peter Mason

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February 1987

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Private Education in Australia and New Zealand

Preface

Like the two previous monographs, *Private Education in the EEC Countries* and *Private Education in the USA and Canada*, this comparative study of private education in the Antipodes attempts to provide detailed information about the role, status, size and prospects of the independent sector in each of the two countries concerned and to show how it relates to those of other western democracies. I hope that by so doing it will help to bring into perspective the main factors which determine the extent to which independent schools contribute both to freedom of choice in a pluralistic society and to the extension of equality of opportunity – goals which, I argue, are to some degree mutually incompatible and which demand a degree of compromise both from governments and from the independent schools. The two countries with which this study is concerned are of particular interest in this regard; and Australia over the period from 1973 to the present is unique in establishing a pattern of non-profit-making independent – or in Australian terms, non-government – schools all of which receive a degree of recurrent grant from both Commonwealth and State governments. For both political and economic reasons the Australian Labor government has recently cut back financial subsidy for some Commonwealth programmes for both government and non-government schools and has diminished the proportion of grant given to the best established independent schools, while at the same time requiring them to account more strictly for the use to which grants are put – a move which demonstrates how delicate is the balance between autonomy and the need for financial subsidy to promote equality of opportunity. The New Zealand Labour government in its turn has this year reduced the level of its recurrent grants with the result that less well-off parents are deprived of a choice they wish to make for their children. Nevertheless, in both countries the private sector is still more autonomous, more accessible and less selective in terms of ability and cost than those of most other democratic societies, and in Australia is responsible for the education of 26% of the total school population.

I gladly record my indebtedness to the many Antipodean friends who, by their generous hospitality and by their untiring zeal in answering questions and following up enquiries, helped me to discover more about the educational scene in the two countries and the role within it of the independent schools than would have been possible without their aid. I owe a special debt in Australia to Bill Dickinson of Scotch College in Perth, David Dyer of Camberwell Grammar School in Melbourne, Berry Durston, the Director of NCIS and Tony Rae of Newington College in Sydney for their scrutiny of my first draft and to Nigel Creese of Melbourne Grammar School, who first introduced me to them and to their colleagues in other schools. In New Zealand, equally, John Taylor of Rathkeale College,

Gerald Clark, the secretary of AHISS and Peter Parr of St. Peter's School helped to make a brief visit profitable and have since given me further invaluable assistance by way of comment and supplementary information.

In both countries the visitor from the UK is constantly reminded of the strong links of tradition and experience which make Australian and New Zealand private schools in some ways so akin to their counterparts at home – yet the stimulus of their differently oriented and ruggedly democratic and individualistic societies, which have long since left behind their former colonial status, and the need to find a new role in the context of their Asian neighbours have helped to form a pattern of private schooling which stands well on what I have called the *'élitist'* scale of reference, and which is widely respected and sought after by parents who value its standards and aims.

Peter Mason, January 1987

Australia

1. NATIONAL BACKGROUND

In the two hundred years since the first colonists, two-thirds of them convicts, landed in Botany Bay in 1788, the population of Australia has grown to some sixteen million, about seven million of whom live in the conurbations of Sydney and Melbourne. In the seventies of this century estimates suggest that 50% were of English origin, 20% Irish, 10% Scottish and 2% Welsh. Most of the remainder stemmed from continental European countries, with a trickle of Asians and Chinese and about 152,000 full-blood or partial aborigines – a blending which is reflected in and does much to explain the growth of institutions and popular mores in a society which, since World War II, has loosened its ties with Europe and its colonial past and turned increasingly to Asia, Japan and in particular the USA as its natural partners in the Pacific. The suburban sprawl in Melbourne and Sydney is just one illustration of American influence, which now predominates in many aspects of life.

A second and important factor in its development is the size and nature of the Australian landscape with its vast centre of arid but mineral-rich territory and the lusher pastures of the coastal strip on which all the main settlements arose; and the relative isolation of that late-developer, Western Australia, from the Eastern States.

Modern Australian society, despite the economic, commercial and social problems which it shares with the rest of the western-democratic world, is notable for its robust and egalitarian individualism, its comparative affluence expressed in material possessions like cars and wide-spread home ownership, and a healthy vigour, fostered by a propitious climate and an abundance of inexpensive produce, including very good wine.

The Commonwealth of Australia, as a federation of largely self-governing States, was not created until 1901. It consists of six States, namely Western Australia, South Australia, Victoria, New South Wales, Queensland and Tasmania, and of the Northern and the Australian Capital Territories in the second of which the capital, Canberra, is located. The two Territories are the ultimate responsibility of the Federal Government, though the Northern Territory has a measure of self-determination and a Minister for Education responsible to an elected assembly; but the States have their own legislative assemblies on the model of Parliament with full ministerial trappings and political parties which are not necessarily in conformity with their federal counterparts. There is, moreover, considerable difference in outlook, practice and political allegiance between the States, the result of their separate development and history, their geographical location and the origins and religions of their settlers. The most extreme example is Western Australia, where Perth is separated by immense distances even from its nearest neighbour capital, Adelaide in South Australia; and both States are markedly different from their eastern equivalents.

It must be remembered that the Commonwealth is an independent constitutional monarchy. The Queen is represented by a Governor-General in Canberra and by a Governor in each State, nowadays nominees of the government concerned. The Commonwealth constitution owes much to its colonial ancestry, especially parliamentary government by an elected majority party and a legal system on the English pattern; but, as in the USA, it is a written document alterable only by referendum. It defines federal responsibilities as defence, foreign policy, immigration, customs

and excise and the Post Office. All residual powers, including justice, education and health, are assigned, on the American pattern, to the States, which legislate in their own right. Nevertheless, since 1942, when the Federal Government enacted that it should collect all taxes and re-imburse the States, state legislation has lost ground to the federal authorities, who argue for central control in the name of efficiency and equality. In education, as in health and other matters, the Federal Government, although it cut back funding in 1986, has been increasingly involved in setting norms and in subsidizing their achievement, as will be clear from section 4 below.

The Australian Labor Party, which is at present in power in Canberra and in a majority of States, is by nature akin to European social-democratic parties and has a strong link with the powerful trades-union movement. Like the British Labour Party, it has a Marxist-inclined left wing. The Democratic Labor Party, formed by a splinter group in the 50s, was largely supported by Catholic voters (who are traditional supporters of the Labor movement) from Queensland, Victoria, and New South Wales. It is now a spent force represented neither in the Federal nor in any State Parliament. The Australian Democrat Party, led by Senator Janine Haynes, holds the balance of power in the Senate with seven Senators and has considerable influence in elections through the preferential voting system. The opposition is represented by the Liberal Party, which supports private enterprise, and by the Country Party, with its power base in Queensland, which represents farming and grazing interests in rural Australia. Jointly they were in power for most of the 60s and 70s. The Australian Communist Party is tiny and is not represented in the Federal Government, but has penetrated the trades-unions.

2. HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT – PRIVATE SCHOOLS AND THE NATIONAL SYSTEM

The history of independent education in Australia is for the most part concerned with the changing fortunes of denominational schools of many different creeds, and the modern independent sector is witness to their tenacity and importance. No less important were the pressures of a pragmatic, developing, colonial society, widely dispersed and for a long time short of capital, both human and monetary.

For the first fifty years from the foundation of the penal settlement at Botany Bay in New South Wales in 1788 the Anglican Church was, as in eighteenth century England, mainly responsible for the provision of sketchy elementary education. From about 1815 the Church attempted but finally failed to dominate the scene against growing competition from incoming Congregationalists, Baptists, Methodists, Presbyterians and Catholics all of whom founded their own, often very primitive schools. At intermediate and secondary level small 'private venture' schools provided a modest training for the growing lower-middle class (9000 girls and boys by 1849), and a few grammar schools purveyed the traditional classical curriculum. During the 1830s and 40s a small number of Anglican, Catholic and Presbyterian 'collegiate' schools, notably at Geelong, Parramatta and Wooloomooloo, began a somewhat precarious existence to cater for the beginnings of a professional and land-owning class; and at primary level state elementary schools began to multiply alongside the indifferent and frequently quarrelling sectarian schools, which, except in the new colony of South Australia, received some aid from state funds.

For roughly the next forty years the denominational schools and the state sector co-existed, often under a unified system of control for primary schools; and at secondary level a slow expansion followed the foundation of the independent, non-denominational but State-endowed Sydney Grammar School in 1854 (now entirely

fee-paying), of ten similar grammar schools in Queensland and of state high schools in New South Wales. There were, of course, also the 'private venture' commercial schools and a growing number of denominational collegiate schools, many of which received some grant aid. By 1880 the States had legislated for compulsory though not necessarily free education to school leaving age, had established departments of 'public instruction', and put an end to subsidies to independent denominational schools, so enabling a transition over the next thirty years to free, compulsory and increasingly secular education, or at least non-denominational education if the State so decided. The independent denominational secondary schools and the grammar schools, encouraged by the foundation of the first Australian universities and of university-based examinations, provided mainly for the aspirations of the growing middle-classes, and slowly modified their classical curricula and their aims to the needs of a materialistic colonial society. There were many new foundations, while private venture schools declined. The Anglican and more especially the Presbyterian collegiate schools, together with the state-endowed grammar schools, were strongly influenced by the English Public Schools and especially by Arnold and Thring. They sought to combine academic education with muscular Christianity for the production of Christian gentlemen. Methodist schools were modelled on Kingswood. The Catholics, on the other hand, whose hierarchy was increasingly anxious to wean the faithful from the state system, developed differently. Numbers in Catholic primary and secondary schools increased rapidly in the last decades of the century, thanks to the largely unpaid services of religious in the classroom. This alone made the schools financially viable and kept them open to the less well-off majority. The Jesuits, on the one hand, remained true to the classical tradition and their better schools joined the élite group of so-called 'Great Public Schools' created on lines similar to those of the Headmasters' Conference in Britain. The Marists and Christian Brothers, on the other hand, introduced modified curricula with less attention given to languages and culture in order to cater for the large number of lower-middle and working-class faithful.

Secondary education for girls of a comparable kind was until the 70s largely convent-based and unacademic; thereafter girls' independent schools and notably a number of Presbyterian Ladies' Colleges, helped by an influx of pioneer women educators from England, grew up alongside secular but academically effective state high schools, and in Queensland, the endowed grammar schools for girls, for which see section 8(d) below.

The first three decades of the present century saw the expansion of the universities, the consolidation of State systems of education, the creation of an educational ladder to ensure equality of opportunity in state schools, and, in the East, the establishment of technical and vocational education. In the private sector, except for the Roman Catholics, the churches had by now abandoned primary education, except in 'all-through' schools. Independent schools in general became larger rather than more numerous and more akin to one another because of the State-controlled system of external examinations they worked to, along with schools in the state system.

The pace of growth and change varied from State to State, depending on the attitudes of State governments and the effectiveness of state schools. In Victoria, where state education was poorly funded, the scene was by 1925 dominated by six 'Great Public Schools' for boys – Scotch College, Geelong C. of E. College, Melbourne C. of E. Grammar School, Wesley College, Xavier College and Geelong College – and four large denominational schools for girls – Melbourne C. of E.

Girls' Grammar School, The Presbyterian Ladies' College, The Methodist Ladies' College and the C. of E. Girls' Grammar School, Geelong – with other schools in second rank. The Catholic Church had 53 registered secondary schools, and there were also 42 non-denominational secondary schools. In New South Wales, where a more liberal policy helped the state system, 84.2% of all children in the private sector in the early 20s attended Catholic schools. These led in university entry results as well as numbers, though they did less well in examinations than the state schools, despite their superiority over all other types in the award of university exhibitions. By 1938 the Headmasters' Conference consisted of 38 collegiate schools throughout Australia, and the private sector, particularly in South Australia and Victoria, was far ahead of state schools in the proportion of pupils who stayed on after the minimum leaving age.

In the 40s, 50s and 60s the established patterns of education and examination were eroded by the same pressures which changed the public system in Great Britain under the banner of progressive education and social engineering, with New South Wales, Tasmania and Western Australia in the lead in establishing comprehensive schools to satisfy the demand for secondary education for all. The Church collegiate schools, like their counterparts in the UK, showed a very modest interest in reform, though a few flirted with the ideas of the New Educational Fellowship, and retained what may be termed a humanist-realist tradition of study against a background of Christian ethic. Catholic schools, with their larger classes and more socially mixed populations, were strongly opposed to experiment and to the ideology of progressive educationists; and since by the 40s they were educating 200,000 throughout Australia they could claim something like parity with state schools as an educational force.

Even though two-thirds of all Catholic children were educated in the state system, there were by 1961 1752 Roman Catholic schools in Australia, compared with 262 other independent denominational schools and 114 non-denominational ones. It is not surprising therefore that it was largely the strength of the Catholic vote, now extending upwards into the middle and professional classes, which encouraged first of all the Labor government in New South Wales in 1963 and then in 1964 the Liberal Menzies government in Canberra to offer state aid to independent schools. This policy has been maintained with some extension and revision until the present and will be explained in detail in section 4. Its implications for the schools, their pupils and parents, and some comparisons with the development in other societies will be considered in later sections.

3. GOVERNMENT AND EDUCATION

(a) *The Federal role, and the Commonwealth Constitution*

The organisation, administrative control and financing of primary and secondary education is, under section 107 of the Commonwealth Constitution, the responsibility of the governments of the six States and the Legislative Council of the Northern Territory and not of the Federal Government – a situation akin to that of the States and Provinces in the USA and Canada. The exception is the artificially created Australian Capital Territory which surrounds the capital, Canberra, for which the Federal Government is responsible through the ACT Schools Authority, as it is also for the external territories – Norfolk Island, Christmas Island and the Cocos Islands. The Commonwealth Constitution does not specifically define educational responsibilities for the Commonwealth in the States, but the Federal Government has relied on its powers under section 96 of

the Constitution to make grants to the States for specific purposes. It also has powers under section 51 to provide benefits to students and in other matters. Section 116 lays down 'that the Commonwealth shall not make any law for establishing any religious observance', but it has not been used, as has the 1st amendment in the US Constitution, to refuse aid to Church schools. A Commonwealth Office of Education was first established during World War II to oversee technical training. It became the Department of Education and Science in 1966. It is headed by the Minister for Education, at present the left-wing Senator Susan Ryan, and is directly responsible for all those aspects of education not under State control, viz: international relations; migrant education; financial aid for students in higher education; the financing of federal and state Universities and of Colleges of Advanced Education, which are autonomous and, in the main, established by Acts of the separate State Parliaments; assistance for technical and further education; and, since the States Grants (Schools) Act of 1973, for the administration of and conditions for recurrent and capital grants to public and independent schools and for programmes for the disadvantaged and other special categories and objectives. In addition it has increasingly involved itself in other aspects of educational policy, including curriculum development.

Funding for Universities is channelled through a quango, the Commonwealth Tertiary Education Commission, a body very similar to the British University Grants Committee. Financial aid to the schools has until recently been distributed through another quango, the Australian Schools Commission, which makes annual recommendations to the Minister on the basis of elaborate studies of needs and resources, which help the Department to formulate policy and give advice to the Minister. To this end the Commission has also taken responsibility for a Curriculum Development Centre. The Commonwealth role in schooling has steadily increased, as has the size of the Department, which in 1986 began to administer its grants to schools directly rather than through the Commission. Three other Councils advise on universities, advanced education and technical and further education (TAFE). The independent Australian Council for Educational Research (ACER) is funded by Commonwealth and State grants. There are no special taxes at federal, state, or, as happens in the USA, at local level for the support of education.

(b) ***The role of the States***

The regulation and administration of education in the States is modelled on the traditional Westminster pattern, with a Minister for Education responsible to Parliament. Parliament makes laws and reviews regulations and standing orders, which may be made either by the State Governor in his capacity as executive for the government, by the Minister, or, in New South Wales, by the Director-General of Education. The State Constitution provides the authority for legislation by Parliament. The permanent head of the Ministry of Education, the Director-General, depends on his Minister for delegated powers covering most aspects of education. There is, however, a separate Director-General in NSW responsible for Technical and Further Education, and a separate Department in South Australia. Provision is made in legislation for Commissions, Advisory Boards and Councils to review and advise on policy.

There are quite marked differences from State to State in legislation and practice, but the general tendency is towards greater uniformity. Education Acts govern school attendance, the registration and inspection of schools of all kinds, the general pattern of organisation and instruction, the certification of teachers,

finance and all other major concerns – though many of them are in need of updating. State departments concern themselves mainly with general policy, the recruitment and training of teachers and their salary scales, and major aspects of curriculum development and examination – usually with the help of representative advisory boards funded from State revenues. Staffing, inspection, advisory services and detailed financial supervision are devolved to regional or local level. Each State is responsible not only for costs of government schools and State grants made to independent schools but for most of the costs of TAFE.

(c) ***The organisation and structure of public education***

Compulsory education is from age 6 until the end of the school year in which pupils attain 15 years of age (16 in Tasmania). All children between these ages must attend a government or recognised non-government school. There are no fees in public primary or secondary schools. Detailed regulations, including those defining the length of the school year, differ to some extent from State to State, but provision for a pre-primary year from age 5 is very wide-spread. For an overall view of the structure of education in the States see the diagram at Appendix 1.

Primary education lasts for 7 or in some States 6 years, and is followed by 5 or 6 years of secondary education, normally divided into two phases, to give 12 years of schooling overall. 15.4% of state schools are 'mixed' – i.e. combined primary and secondary – but these are mostly extended primary schools in rural areas rather than proper 'all-through' schools. At the end of the first secondary stage, from 11+ or 12+ to 15+, pupils are awarded a School or Junior Certificate mostly by internal examination and assessment. The upper secondary stage of 2 or sometimes 3 years leads to a Higher or Senior Certificate, awarded either by external examination, internal assessment or a mixture of both, depending on State rules. The tide is setting steadily away from the plethora of examinations which beset the schools until the 60s, and both syllabuses and methods of assessment vary greatly from State to State. As a result, the standard required for university entry is more difficult to define and insist upon, and there are special difficulties when application is made to a university outside a pupil's home State.

Despite the many differences amongst the States in subject requirements, syllabuses and assessment of results at the end of the senior secondary course, there has been a general movement towards a broader choice of subjects to meet the requirements both of the widening range of students completing this stage and of those going on to tertiary education. Queensland and the ACT have abolished external examinations and use internal assessment alone, with the doubtful help of the Australian Scholastic Aptitude Test to moderate between subject assessments within schools and aggregated between schools. The other States have kept at least partial external examination for subjects used for matriculation and report both external marks and moderated school assessments on a single certificate. Many of them use complicated multiple scaling to give parity to the aggregated results on which ranking for tertiary admission is assessed. The result is that students are more concerned to obtain a high aggregate rating than to choose subjects for their intrinsic interest and first degree courses are more in the American than the English mode. 16.2% of all the age group concerned, of whom 1 in 3 were in independent schools, went on to higher education in 1984.

Each State lays down its requirements for teacher certification, which is a qualification for employment. Primary teachers normally take a three-year combined course in a College of Advanced Education, while most secondary teachers take either a four-year combined B.Ed. course or study for an academic degree followed

by a 1-year post-graduate diploma. Overall standards in the profession, with many honourable exceptions, leave something to be desired, and achievement in secondary schools is, according to the Schools' Commission report *Commonwealth Standards in Australian Schools (April 1985)*, in need of general up-grading. The development of mass secondary education has, as in other countries, meant that what was previously a ladder of opportunity has turned, in the words of Alan Barcan (*A History of Australian Education*, OUP, Melbourne, 1980), into a conveyor belt with strong peer-group influences, in which family and church have an ever-decreasing effect. As in Europe, the growing incoherence of a pluralistic society marked more for its materialism than its spiritual ambitions is reflected in school mores, particularly in the secondary stage where the smørgasbord curriculum panders to the unrelated choice of fashionable options. The evidence of a ministerial committee which reported in New South Wales in 1977 suggested that talented children were the most disadvantaged group in the school system. The Federal and State governments are pinning their hopes of improvement on a new round of funding designed to raise standards in communication, literacy and numeracy and to improve the relationship of secondary schooling and subsequent employment and education. It is against this background that the efficiency and popularity of the independent schools must be assessed.

4. COMMONWEALTH GOVERNMENTS, THE SCHOOLS' COMMISSION AND THE INDEPENDENT SCHOOLS

(a) *The Federal Government*

There is nothing in the Commonwealth constitution or in subsequent federal legislation which affects the right of parental choice of school or of establishing and maintaining an independent – or in Australian terms – a non-government school; and, as was explained in section 3(a) above, clause 116, which forbids legislation establishing any religious faith, has not been accepted as a bar to subsidy for independent schools or their pupils. The Council for the Defence of Government Schools, commonly known as DOGS, was mainly responsible for an attempt to challenge the legality of aid to denominational schools under this clause, but its case was finally dismissed by the High Court in 1981. The Commonwealth Government was a founding member of the UN Commission on Human Rights and supported its Universal Declaration in 1948. It has since ratified two components of the International Bill of Rights – the International Covenant of Economic, Social and Cultural Rights in 1975 and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights in 1980 – and most of the UN Human Rights treaties. Like the UK, however, it has not so far legislated to incorporate these concepts into national law in the form of a Bill of Rights, although one has been tabled in Parliament. A Commonwealth Human Rights Commission was appointed in 1981 to overcome six areas of possible discrimination, including Civil and Political Rights and the Rights of the Child.

The comparatively recent involvement of the Federal Government in education and its limited powers under the constitution in comparison with those of the six State governments were also summarised in section 3(a). A brief account of its growing influence in primary and secondary education during the 70s and 80s is a necessary prelude to any account of its present role and of the attitudes of successive federal governments to the development of an adequate national system of education. There are obvious parallels between both the course of events and

some elements of policy in Australia and North America; but the Australian solution of the problems of combining social equity with a measure of free choice, of the preservation of standards, and of how to foster excellence in a technological age has been markedly different from those of other western democracies. The Federal Government, having no direct responsibility for the State school systems, has been able to concentrate on setting the pace and providing the means for a national upgrading in all these fields. Being unimpeded by the Constitution, unlike the Federal Government of the USA, it has until recently, whether from conviction or political expediency, supported the independent sector without real discrimination. Indeed, an analysis of relevant sections of the Commonwealth budget between 1975 and 1983 reveals that, while federal spending on state schools decreased by 24.2% during this period, the allocation to private schools increased by 87.2%. When federal and state expenditure on primary and secondary education is combined, however, the imbalance is less remarkable. In 1985, 15.6% of public money spent on education by Federal and State governments went to non-government schools, which educated 25.8% of the nation's children – something of a bargain for both sides in cash terms, though at the cost of some real loss of independence for the schools.

The re-introduction of grant-aid

As was made clear in section 2, aid by State governments for private schools was re-introduced after nearly 100 years in 1963, mainly because of the growing power of the Catholic vote generally and especially in New South Wales. The Liberal Menzies government in Canberra promised in 1964 to introduce Commonwealth scholarships for pupils in both public and private schools and a $5m grant for buildings and facilities for science teaching – the latter a reaction comparable to that which produced the Sputnik programme in the US and which was stimulated by the Australian equivalent of the British Industrial Fund for Science, in operation since 1957. By 1967 all the States had settled for direct payments to schools rather than grants to pupils, and in 1969 Malcolm Fraser introduced a system of standard *per capita* recurrent grants at various levels to non-government schools, the amount of which was formalised in early 1972 as 20% of equivalent state school costs. When the Federal Labor Party came to power later in 1972 under Whitlam it announced its intention to establish an educational policy based on 'equality and need', which would give financial help to poorer – i.e. mostly Catholic – schools, abolish fees in tertiary education (carried in 1974), and provide pre-school classes. Professor Peter Karmel chaired an interim committee which reported on school needs in May 1973 and next year the government announced proposals for recurrent, need-based grants for state and independent schools, which were intended to be used to help towards equality of out-comes in schools rather than equality of opportunity for pupils. Some 230 mainly Protestant schools faced the loss or the reduction of their Fraser grants. In answer to great opposition in which the Catholics joined, it recanted and agreed that all independent schools would continue to receive some measure of *per capita* grant, despite great disparities in resources of money, plant and parental wealth; and the Commonwealth Schools' Commission was established to advise the government on all aspects of funding, administer the distribution of grants and control their proper employment. **This political compromise, which was much to the liking of the Fraser government when it came to power in 1975, demonstrates the potential strength of an independent sector comprising both church and lay schools in enforcing a settlement on a reluctant government.** Opposition to any form of subsidy for non-government

schools has always been quite strong in the left wing of the labour movement, in the state teachers' Australian Teachers' Federation and amongst supporters of DOGS, and became even stronger in 1986; but even under a Labor government it has not been able to breach the accepted compromise of the Whitlam period, which became increasingly favourable to the private sector under Fraser. Nevertheless, beneath the surface, the 'equity and need' concept of the original proposal has retained its vigour, as will be seen in the story of the Schools' Commission until 1985 which follows. It is likely in the future to make further inroads on the pattern of public funding for the private sector as a whole – for which see section 9 below.

(b) ***The Commonwealth Schools' Commission, 1974-1985***

From 1974-85 the Schools' Commission has been the major influence in determining federal policy concerning federal support for state and non-government schools. The Schools' Commission is a quango, consisting of a Chairman and from four to eleven members, two full-time and the rest part-time, appointed for a fixed term by the Governor-General. Members, who are nominated as individuals by the Minister and not as representatives of associations, usually include a healthy mixture of school principals, university teachers and researchers in education, administrators and people active in denominational, trade and parent associations. Apart from regular meetings, Commissioners are much involved in consultations, working parties, sub-committees and special panels. The permanent staff of the Commission during this period consisted of four divisions, three of which were headed by a First Assistant Commissioner who reported directly to the Chairman. The fourth division, under a Director, serviced a new subsidiary quango, the Curriculum Development Council, established by the Commonwealth Schools' Commission Amendment Act of 1984 to replace the Curriculum Development Centre first set up in 1975. The Commission, which is funded entirely by the Federal Government, has offices in the capital of each State or Territory. These, until 1986, serviced Planning and Finance Committees whose members are appointed by the Commonwealth Minister of Education and made recommendations about the distribution of Commonwealth funds to independent schools in their State. Their members, like the Commissioners, have been broadly representative of a wide range of education interests.

The Commonwealth Schools' Commission Act, as amended in 1984, laid down in great detail the duties of the Commission and the Curriculum Development Council in sections 13 and 14(k), respectively. The Commission was required to consult and cooperate with authorities responsible for state and independent schools and to investigate and advise the Minister on

> 'establishing and maintaining acceptable standards for buildings, equipment, teaching and other staff at government and non-government primary and secondary schools; the needs of the schools in these fields and their priorities; the methods and conditions for allocating and awarding financial assistance.'

Section 13(4) deserves quotation as it illustrates very clearly the philosophy which has until the present remained the basis of federal policy, despite changes in government since 1973 and despite some changes in the interpretation of need by the present party in power, which have resulted in a redistribution of grant-aid in favour of less well-founded schools. It also makes clear the degree of control involved in the acceptance of grant by the private sector:

> 'In the exercise of its functions, the Commission shall have regard to such matters as are relevant, including the need for improving primary and secondary educational facilities

and of providing increased and equal opportunities for education in government and non-government schools and the need for ensuring that the facilities... are of the highest standard, and in particular shall have regard to:

(a) the primary obligation... for governments to provide and maintain government school systems that are of the highest standard and are open without fees or religious tests to all children.

(b) the prior right of parents to choose whether their children are educated at a government school or a non-government school.

(c) the educational needs of handicapped children and young persons.

(d) the needs of disadvantaged schools and of students at disadvantaged schools, and of other students suffering disadvantages... for social, ethnic, geographical, cultural, lingual or similar reasons.

(e) the need to encourage diversity and innovation in education in schools and in curricula and teaching methods.

(f) the need to stimulate and encourage public and private interest in and support for improvements in primary and secondary education.

(g) the desirability of providing special educational opportunities for students who have demonstrated their ability in a particular field of studies, including scientific, literary, artistic or musical studies.

(h) the need... to promote the economic use of resources.'

The Curriculum Development Council's remit likewise required it to consult with both State authorities and independent schools and with the Commission, three of whose members sit on the Council.

(c) ***Types of Funding***

Financial assistance to all types of school in 1985, except for some programmes in the ACT, amounted to $1445.6m, of which 46%, as in the previous year, went to government schools in the six States and the Northern Territory, 51% to non-government schools, and 3% for joint programmes. 83% of the total funds available was assigned to the two major programmes, viz:

(1) the Recurrent Grants Program, which provides *per capita* annual grants to help meet the operating costs of schools, notably teachers' salaries. Under this heading independent schools received $660.25m, roughly twice as much as the state schools, which also benefit from tax-sharing arrangements between federal and state authorities.

(2) the Capital Grants Program, which contributes, under strict building codes enforced by the Commission, to the cost of improvement of facilities, especially libraries, the provision of new places and minor capital works. Under this heading only 30% ($165.5m) went to independent schools in 1984/5.

The remaining funds have been divided between Specific Purpose Programs, which vary from triennium to triennium. They are of three main types, viz:

(1) programs designed to promote equity – e.g. projects concerned with the education of girls and for state and independent schools in disadvantaged and country areas.

(2) projects in support of English as a second language, ethnic and multicultural education and special education in both types of school.

(3) the Computer Education Program, which gives help in training teachers and purchasing equipment; the Professional Development Program for in-service training; and a host of smaller projects for research and development.

(4) Joint Programs, in which both government and non-government schools participate, and which cover such topics as multicultural education, severely handicapped children, professional development and teachers' centres.

The balance of expenditure between recurrent and capital grant programs has been increasingly weighted to recurrent expenditure in recent years. Expenditure for Specific Purpose Programs in 1985 amounted to $252.2m overall, but was decreased to $223.9m in 1986, whereas General Resource Programs rose from $1241.7m to $1250.7m. Federal grants for government schools were up to 1985 administered by State Departments of Education in collaboration with the Commission's State Directors. For non-government schools two different methods applied, and are presumably still in force, subject to the modifications noted in the following section. Catholic systemic schools receive their grants through the Catholic Education Board of their State, or through one of the regional boards of which there are six in New South Wales. Each of these allocates at its discretion the block grant awarded to it. The same applies to other systems where control is centralised. Non-systemic independent schools, including most Catholic schools run by teaching orders, make separate direct application and are funded separately.

(d) ***The Commission and Public Policy***

The developing work of the Commission, based as it has been on very elaborate gathering and assessment of information, has given it an unrivalled authority on almost every aspect of education – as is demonstrated in major publications such as *Some Aspects of School Finance in Australia (1978)*, *Commonwealth Standards for Australian Schools (1984)*, *Funding Policies for Australian Schools (1984)*, and *Planning and Funding Policies for New Non-government Schools (1985)*.

The last report drew attention to the catch-22 situation which has, until the present, made new or rapidly changing schools ineligible for grants and loans in the early stages of their existence. It recommended that in future high priority be given to new schools in growing areas, and to those which would aid the rationalisation of services or provide for disadvantaged children. Schools in stable or declining areas which fit into a planned educational provision came next in order. At the bottom of the pile came new schools which are not consistent with planning. With the acceptance of the report, planning is now the function of what are called either Joint Planning and Coordinating Bodies or New School Committees at State level which include representatives of State authorities, the Catholic schools, and other non-government schools. The report is a good example of the way in which the Commission has responded to increasing pressure from the Labor Government and to some extent from changes in public opinion to direct its assistance to the independent sector away from the well-established, 'élite' schools or new schools of the traditional kind in favour of those with fewer resources or which serve a wider social range or a disadvantaged community.

Of interest to the outside observer is the evidence the Commission's activities afford of **the extent to which public policy on education in Australia has been influenced via the Commission by supporters of the concept of freedom of choice and of competition and has accepted that, without financial help from both government and non-government schools, educational efficiency and equality of opportunity will be diminished**, a thesis which appeals the more to public opinion because of the comparatively low over-all standing of the public system. It is not shared by educationists like Geoffrey Maslem (*School Ties: Private Schooling in Australia. Methuen, Australia. 1982*), and only reluctantly acknowledged by the present Government, whose declared objective is to promote the state system. Federal

policy has all along depended and will continue to depend on pragmatical assessments of, for example, the voting strength and intentions of Catholic parents who use private schools – as was demonstrated in 1983-4, when Senator Ryan, then new in office, was forced to withdraw what was seen as an attack on the wealthier schools and substitute for it a promise of continued and 'very generous' grants awarded on a basis of need by a new measure, the Community Standard, for which see the following section, 4 (e). The Commission's advice to government since 1984 has reflected her policy in the increased prominence given to assessment of grant by school need and by a closer definition of its meaning, both eminently sensible and politically acceptable readjustments, as well as being, for both ideological and economic reasons, to the liking of government.

No less notable has been the wide-ranging scope of the Commission's influence on very specific aspects of the educational process – curriculum, the design of buildings, laboratories, libraries, computer education, in-service training and special schooling amongst them – despite some resentment caused by the 'aunty knows best' syndrome of its reports and the tightness of its controls. It has benefited from a very positive feed-back from the schools and educationalists in the formulation of policies acceptable to government, despite their very real fears that the price paid for aid has been increasing interference in their internal affairs and a consequent loss of independence.

(e) ***The new pattern of recurrent grants***

Up to 1984 non-government schools were divided for the assessment of grant into categories the numbers of which varied from three to eight at different times, and schools were allocated to them on the basis of what was called a Schools Recurrent Resources Index (SRRI), an elaborate index based on calculations of byzantine complexity to determine financial standing. In response to Senator Ryan's compromise the Commission proposed and the government accepted a new formula, to be effective from 1985. There are now twelve categories of school based on a new Educational Resource Index or ERI rating, which measures the income from private sources available to each school. The formula for the ERI is complex. It includes fees and the money saved on salaries compared with government rates (for example by the use of unpaid religious) less allowances for a proportion of boarding costs if any and of capital related costs including the servicing of debt. The resulting sum x 100 is then divided by what are called Community Standard Costs, so producing the ERI. The Community Standard is meant to serve as a common base for the funding of government and non-government schools and replaces the earlier norm of costs in equivalent state schools. Both the State ministries and systemic non-government authorities (for which see section 7 below) will be required to commit themselves by resource agreements to meet the standards on which it is based. It is in fact an attempt to quantify the resources ultimately needed to ensure sound but not luxurious education in Australian schools of all kinds and was developed from the Commission's advice in *Funding Policies for Australian Schools*, (published in April 1984), despite two adverse minority reports from Commissioners opposed to continued subsidy for private schools.

When announcing its acceptance of the new scheme, the government, while promising a 50% increase of grant over eight years to state schools, did its best to allay the fears of the private sector as a whole and the richer schools in particular that it intended a rapid phasing out of grants to all but the least privileged schools. Its method was to guarantee future recurrent grants up to 1992 on the basis of

December 1984 prices and legislate for them up to 1988. In 1985 grants ranged from $277 per pupil for the highest rated primary and $444 for the equivalent secondary schools to $789 and $1245 respectively for those with the lowest rating. Year by year thereafter there will be a steady decrease in value in real terms for schools in the top categories, 1 and 2, since their grant will be pegged at 1984 value in real terms. Overall, by contrast, an increase of $100 per pupil over and above adjustments for inflation is promised by the end of 1992. The implications of this policy and its likely effect on the schools will be considered in greater detail in sub-section (f) below. It means, at the least, **a commitment by government, however reluctant, to continuing and increasing support for non-government as well as state schools in a fashion designed to up-grade the needier private schools or those which are felt to be helping to overcome disadvantage in society, while tapering off aid to the more expensive ones, which are presumably used mainly by the better-off.** The surd in this equation is that assessment is by school income and not by the need of the community served; and that as a result some schools, notably Catholic ones, seem able to qualify for a quite high grant despite the possession of very considerable resources of land and property, and others, which are poorly provided but serve a clientèle able to afford higher fees from which improvements could be financed, still qualify for grant, albeit at a lower rate.

Further impetus towards change in government policy came not from the Commission but from the report of a review committee with the acronym QERC set up by the government in 1984 and chaired again by Professor Karmel. Its report, *Quality of Education in Australia*, published in April 1985, recommended that recurrent grants be tied by negotiated agreements to specific federal priorities like the improvement of basic primary skills and help for the disadvantaged or for girls rather than given as a general subsidy; and that schools be required to account more fully and demonstrate that they were achieving 'improved outcomes'. The government officially accepted the report and proceeded to act upon it, as will appear in the following section.

(f) ***The emasculation of the Schools Commission***

Dr. Peter Tannock, a long-standing member of the Commission, a strong supporter of the non-government schools and himself a Catholic, who was appointed Chairman in 1981, resigned in December 1984 and was replaced by Mr. Garth Boomer, whose interests were more in curricular organisation and development – a change which no doubt made it easier for Senator Ryan to announce in September 1985 that in future the Department of Education would take over from the Commission direct responsibility for the control and administration of the Recurrent Grant and Capital Grant Programs, and that staff would be transferred from the Commission to the Department for this purpose. This change was, no doubt, the result partly of an internal power struggle, partly of the government's equivocal attitude to the blanket system of funding non-government schools and the constraints imposed upon it by the authoritative and semi-independent stature of its quango, and partly of the QERC recommendations mentioned above. It is still in process and its full implications are only now beginning to emerge. The new Schools General Program Division of the Department of Education will not only allocate and distribute funds. It will also be responsible for collecting financial and other data about non-government schools, for statistics about them and for legal services. In future State Planning and Finance Committees will send their recommendations for recurrent and capital grants direct to the Ministry, and the role of the much-reduced State offices of the Commission will be limited to the administration of the Specific Programs.

The Commission itself has in consequence been reorganised into three instead of four divisions. These are:

(1) **The Policy Co-ordination and Services Division**, responsible for policy development overall and in specific areas, some work on general resources policy, administration and finance.

(2) **The Equity, Language and Culture Division**, for the administration, evaluation and development of most Specific Programs and the production of material for English as a second language.

(3) **The Curriculum and School Development Division**, the major role of which is support for the Curriculum Development Council, work on three SPPs and publications.

The Commission is clearly not prepared to abandon its position of chief adviser on primary and secondary education to the Commonwealth government without a struggle and has published a paper, *Quality and Equality: a Review of Commonwealth Specific Purpose Programs*, which is highly critical of the QERC report. This, it argues, diminishes the Commonwealth role in schooling by narrowing its objectives. It should both have concern for equity across the continent and promote it by supportive action and by leadership. Leadership is the function of the Specific Purpose Programs and these will only succeed if recurrent and capital grants ensure the general efficiency of schools of all types. In short, the pattern of general funding should be retained and the Commission be responsible for leadership and the control of quality through separate Specific Programs, as against the QERC proposal for merging many of them with the Recurrent Grant Program without, incidentally, any guarantee of increase in grant totals.

For the non-government schools this offers hope of preserving the principle of comparatively unfettered general subsidy to the private sector as a whole. They have already been disquieted by Senator Ryan's announcement of new and increasingly strict rules of accountability for recurrent grants in 1985 and 1986. These require not only financial returns of all sources of income including fees and gifts, but also reports on the way they use their grants in relation to Commonwealth objectives. The schools agree with the Commission that to tie recurrent grants to the limited objectives of QERC will prevent many of them from reaching a sound general level of achievement, and see the new measures as a direct threat to independence. In other words, what is happening is, for the Australian independent Schools, **a reminder of the ever-present dilemma that aid from public funds means accountability and that equality of opportunity to choose an independent school depends on aid, unless the independent sector can raise equivalent funds on its own account**. It remains to be seen whether the sector's clout is great enough to reverse or radically modify policy as it was able to do in 1974 and 1983 – but the passage of time has changed the climate of opinion, and the closure of government schools caused by a declining birth-rate has heightened the opposition of government teachers to private education. Because of this it may well have to yield some ground, even if the Catholic majority and the minority groups of which it is composed maintain their solidarity. The 'need and equity' principle is already established against the old one of 'equal grants for all', even if there is as yet no threat to grants of some kind for non-government schools, including those which are already better off than the Community Standard requires.

5. THE STATES AND THE PRIVATE SCHOOLS

(a) *Rights and Controls*

The fundamental rights on which the existence of an independent sector in education depends stem from legislation enacted by the several State Parliaments and by the equivalent body in the Northern Territory. Only in the ACT does the authority of the Schools Authority depend ultimately on the Commonwealth Minister and the Federal Government. These rights are confirmed by federal adherence to the various international declarations of human rights, viz:

> Article 26.3 of the UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights; Articles 13.3 and 13.4 of the UN International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, 1966; article 18.4 of the UN International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, 1966; and the UNESCO Covenant against Discrimination in Education, article 2.

State governments, like the Commonwealth government, have not incorporated these provisions into State law, although some of them have debated the desirability of enacting a Bill of Rights. In this respect Australia and the UK are alike; but, whereas in the UK the injured citizen who cannot obtain redress under common law may have recourse to the European Court of Justice in Strasbourg, Australians have no such long stop.

The right to existence of independent schools and of parental choice is normally assumed rather than stated in State Education Acts. The Western Australia Education Act 1928 – 1981 is a typical example. On the other hand, the extent of regulation and control shows considerable variety. All States require the registration of non-government schools, partly as a means of ensuring that parents comply with the law about school attendance during the compulsory years; and each school must therefore keep a register of attendances, although in Western Australia at least this is not inspected by the authorities. They also reserve the right to inspect and regulate non-government schools and their teachers, though this is resisted by fundamentalist Christian schools, as in the US; but the degree of control varies from nothing more than a superintendent's report in Western Australia to detailed inspection of premises, policy and financial backing, and to the requirement of regular returns of statistical and other information – a tendency which is resented by schools as an infringement of their independence, just as are the increasing demands of the Schools Commission and the Commonwealth government noted in section 4a. Non-government schools are of course also subject to state regulations for building, health and fire precautions. In all States except New South Wales, Western Australia and the ACT teachers in independent schools must have state registration as a qualification for employment.

Curricula in non-government schools are in all States indirectly influenced by state examination regulations for the equivalent of A and O levels in GCE and for leaving certificates; but the schools are normally represented on the state boards which are responsible for them and on subject panels. In some States another indirect control comes from anti-discrimination laws about sex, ethnic and other differences.

On a broader front, the recognition of the independent sector is evidenced, as at national level, in the inclusion of independent school representatives in advisory boards responsible for formulating state policy in education – for example, the Council for Public Education in Victoria. In Western Australia and in South Australia, where collaboration between the two sectors seems best established, non-government schools are strongly represented on various consultative bodies of

this kind; and other States have tended to adopt similar practices. The Western Australia Board of Secondary Education, which is responsible for courses of study, comparability of assessment, certification of achievement and external examinations for admission to tertiary education, consists of the Director-General of Education, 12 representatives of the public and private secondary sectors, 8 from tertiary education and 4 representatives of the community. The first State Advisory Committee on Non-government Schools was established by the South Australia government in 1972 as a publicly funded and serviced quango with 8 members from the Catholic Education Commission, 3 from the Independent Schools Board which represents the systemic schools other than the Catholic ones and the non-systemic schools, 2 from the state teachers' and 2 from the non-government teachers' union. It is at present chaired by a member of the ISB. Members are not representatives, but serve in their personal capacity as advisors to the Minister. He is not bound by their advice unless it receives cabinet approval and the members must keep confidentiality until the Minister announces his decisions. The committee advises the Minister on grant policy and also acts as his agent with non-government organisations and schools, very much as the Schools Commission has done until recently at national level. Provided that it can reach a policy acceptable to the different types of school it represents, the committee is a powerful influence in the making of policy about the independent sector in South Australia, where relations with government and the public sector are friendly.

Victoria established a State Board of Education by Act of Parliament in 1983. Its 14 members include people who represent both state and independent sectors, parents, governors, teachers and ethnic minorities. Its reports must be laid before Parliament within a month of issue and its remit includes the funding, curricula and other aspects of non-government schools. In practice, agreement is increasingly hard to achieve amongst such a diversity of interests, especially when there is a conflict of principle or the party in government has decided views on education. Members who come from the non-government sector are facing increasing opposition from those who object to what they see as privilege and point to the virtues of Victoria's selective state high schools, and the Board has now lost its main role to the Victorian Curriculum and Assessment Board, which also has non-government members. Nevertheless, its share in policy making, however tenuous, gives the independent sector **formal recognition as part of the Victorian system of education** – something which is rarely found outside Australia and which, by virtue of the non-government sector's largely Catholic voting potential, is not likely to disappear.

In South Australia experimental shared campuses for State and non-government primary schools have opened the way to a much closer relationship between the sectors. Details will be found in section 7.

(b) ***Financial and other forms of aid***

All States and Territories make recurrent grants and most give other kinds of assistance in money or kind to the non-government schools. The level of recurrent *per capita* grants to individual schools in the majority of States has not until recently varied greatly from school to school though there has been and still is considerable variety between States. Since the re-introduction of the 'need' concept by the Schools Commission, New South Wales, Victoria, South and West Australia and (for secondary schools only) Tasmania have adopted scales of recurrent grant which either follow or reflect the 12 categories of the Commission's differential awards under which the better-off and established independent schools in the top

two categories receive a minimum grant pegged to 1984 figures and therefore decreasing in value year by year. Those in the lowest-rated category, by contrast, will receive up to three times more than categories 1 and 2 by 1992.

The following table illustrates the variations in rate of *per capita* subsidy by State governments in 1985. Western Australia and South Australia changed to the need system in 1986:

State/Territory	Primary	Secondary
	$	$
NSW	204-313	339-509
Vic	232-457	342-713
Qld	384	621
SA	454	679
WA	355	560
Tas	494	703-1116
NT	724	771
ACT	391	585

It is perhaps worth noting the complexity of the calculations for the new differential grants which result from the elaborate process of bargaining and consultation. In South Australia the 1986 grant has been pegged at 23% of the per pupil cost in a notional model school on state lines. Of this 50% is awarded to all schools as a fixed and therefore decreasing grant for the next three years, while the remaining 50% is distributed on a needs basis.

In addition to the per capita grant most States give an interest subsidy on agreed loan-charges. In NSW this is at the rate of 12½%, and in Queensland of 80% of bond rate. Some assistance with travel to and from school is also normal, either by a system of allowances, by free passes or by shared use of school buses for state school pupils. Book allowances are graded according to stage, and in Queensland, for example, range from $35 in the middle school to $90 in the Lower Sixth. They are nominally paid to parents, but in fact go to the school. Several States allow non-government schools to purchase through their central purchasing departments, though, since non-government schools are exempt from sales tax, this is not always an advantage. It is not unusual for them to make joint use of services provided for the public sector, including staff training, counselling and health. Queensland has a large and long-standing scholarship scheme and other States increasingly offer scholarships or bursaries and allowances for living away from home for pupils in non-government schools, especially when a family living in the out-back is out of reach of appropriate state education.

There remains a further, hidden subsidy for the independent sector in Queensland in the annual grant awarded at their foundation to the Independent Grammar Schools described in section 8b. The value of this grant is now much reduced as in Queensland at least it has remained fixed at the original rate.

(c) ***Commonwealth and State expenditure on non-government schools compared***

The comparative relationship of State to Commonwealth aid and of both to the total costs of independent schools is illustrated in two sets of tables in the School Commission's *Funding Policies for Australian Schools (1984)*. In terms of total expenditure for 1981/2, $564m came from Commonwealth funds and $275.4m from the States – i.e. the States contributed about half as much as the Federal Government (*Table 1.2, p.10*). On the basis of expenditure per student in non-government schools compared with the operating costs of government schools further tables (*pp. 132-137*) show the difference both in costs and subsidies in Catholic and other

non-government schools and in the distribution of costs between public funds and private resources such as fees and other income by way of gifts in money or kind. The total cost per pupil in Catholic schools is seen to be well below the government norm, while other independent schools are on average only very slightly lower. For both groups the tables show, for the sake of comparison, the estimated value of contributed services – for example the saving against the cost of a government teacher's salary by employing a member of a teaching order in a Catholic school or, less often, by paying a lower rate of salary than the norm in a non-Catholic primary school. They also confirm that State grants provided roughly half as much as Commonwealth grants and that whereas total grant to Catholic Schools averaged from 72.5% of total cost at primary level to 70.5% at secondary level, in other independent schools it provided only 44.3% and 42% respectively. In 1982/3 independent schools received in recurrent grants on average 55.6% of the equivalent expenditure in public schools, although the 'high fee schools' in some States received little more than 30%.

According to Schools Commission figures quoted by Hogan, (*Public versus Private Schools, Penguin, 1984, p.83*), in 1981, 5.4% of state expenditure on education, amounting to $4394m, went to non-government schools, as against 13.3% of the combined expenditure of the States and the Commonwealth of $5431m. Of the total Commonwealth expenditure separately of $1037.4m, 46.7% was allotted to them. There seems little reason to think that the proportion has changed greatly since these figures were compiled.

6. STATISTICS

The Australian Bureau of Statistics and the Schools Commission provide detailed statistics on non-government schools, their pupils, teachers and resources, though with an inevitable time-lag caused by the complexity of the task. Comparisons between years earlier than 1984 and the present are complicated by changes in the definitions used in classification.

(a) *National statistics*

(1) *Numbers of schools and pupils*

According to preliminary reports of **1985** (*National Schools Statistics Collection Cat. No. 4220.0*), there were **2502 non-government schools**. Of these 1515 were primary, 403 secondary, 437 'mixed' – i.e. all-through, though some have only junior secondary classes – and 147 special schools. They were responsible for educating **775,336** pupils, or **25.79%** of a total school population in Australia of **3,006,169**. Of these,

403,957 (52.1%) attended primary;
271,404 (35%) junior secondary and ungraded;
96,476 (12.44%) senior secondary; and
4388 (0.56%) special primary or secondary schools or classes.
68,683 (8.78%) attended Anglican schools, 566,577 (74.8%) Catholic schools and 124,066 (16.38%) other kinds of non-government school.

Almost 69% of independent school pupils attend co-educational schools and two thirds of these are in primary classes. Many mixed schools are co-educational in the early stages and single sex at senior level.

(2) *Teachers and teacher-pupil ratios*

In 1985, non-government schools employed 46,747 teachers, roughly 56% of whom taught at secondary level. Almost two-thirds were women. In 1983, the latest year for which ratios are available, when the schools were manned by 41,589 teachers,

of whom 18,796 taught at primary and 22,913 at secondary level, pupil-teacher ratios, unlike those in some European countries, were higher (i.e. worse) than in government schools – viz: 21.3:1 as against 20.3:1 in primary and 14.7:1 against 12.5:1 in secondary schools. There is, of course, a wide range of difference within these average figures, with much lower ratios in some of the wealthier collegiate schools and much higher ones in many Catholic and smaller schools.

(3) *School sizes*
In terms of size of school, on 1984 figures 1498 primaries ranged from 35 with 20 or fewer pupils to 5 (Catholic) with between 800 and 1000, and an average of 170; of the 829 secondaries and mixed, 78 had secondary enrolments of 20 or less, while at the other end of the scale there were 83 with more than 1000 pupils, including Mt. Scopus Jewish School in Melbourne with more than 2500, and Wesley College, Methodist Ladies' College and Penleigh and Essendon Uniting Church Grammar School in Victoria with almost 2000. A calculation of the median suggests that the norm was between 350 and 800. There were, however, 26 purely secondary schools with fewer than 100 pupils.

(4) *Relative numbers of Catholic and other non-government schools*
Within the 2502 schools in the non-government sector in 1985, 1706 (68%) were Catholic. Of these three out of four were systemic and controlled directly by a Catholic Board of Education which negotiates for them *en bloc* with the State and Commonwealth authorities, the rest being independent. The non-Catholic sector, with 790 schools (32%) includes 104 Anglican schools, the remaining 692 comprising Uniting Church, Presbyterian, Baptist, Lutheran, Jewish, Seventh Day Adventist, non-denominational, fundamentalist Christian and secular schools. More detailed information about the different types of school, their numbers and policies will be found in section 8 below.

(5) *Boarders*
As in the UK, the number of boarders has declined steadily in recent years. In 1984 there were 201 boarding schools – 60% of them in the three eastern States – and 29,741 boarders in them, against 38,030 in 1974.

11,264 boarders attended 81 Catholic schools with boarding provision; 9139 were in 51 Anglican schools; 3525 in 25 Uniting Church schools; 1540 in 8 Presbyterian schools; 1013 in Lutheran schools; 142 in SDA schools; and 3118 in a variety of others.

Only a small number of schools, such as King's, Paramatta, Geelong Grammar School, Guildford in West Australia and St. Joseph's College in Sydney and, for girls Frensham in NSW, are mainly or entirely boarding. The normal pattern is a boarding section within a mainly day school, many of whose boarders come from country and often remote areas, where there is little opportunity for academic secondary education.

(6) *Income and expenditure per pupil*
The following comparative table, which is based on 1983 figures adjusted to estimated prices for December 84, illustrates the wide differences bewteen Catholic and other schools in fees and other income including contributed services and in total expenditure per pupil including moneys spent on capital projects directly or by way of interest payments on loans. School fees are normally graded according to

stage and these figures are the results of averaging fee income and total expenditure for pupils at primary and secondary level. There is, of course, much disparity in both sectors between the income and expenditure of the élite schools and the rest.

		income from fees, etc	*income from grant*	*total expenditure*
Primary:	Catholic	$445	$1226	$1661
	Other	$1311	$1117	$2573
Secondary:	Catholic	$797	$1923	$2820
	Other	$2194	$1621	$4222

(7) *Fee Scales*

Termly tuition fees are not easily comparable because of different practices concerning extras and fixed charges, remissions for siblings and, in some cases, grading according to parental means, to say nothing of differential subsidies from public funds. They may range from as little as $160 to $1200 for preparatory and primary classes, from $120 to $1500 on entry to secondary school and from $160 to $1600 in year 12. Boarding fees ranged from about $770 to $1700 per term.

(8) *Trends since 1983*

Since 1983, when pupils in the non-government sector numbered 734,784 and schools 2362, the private sector has made considerable gains at the expense of government schools. Figures for **1984** showed a small increase in the total school population from 3,015,806 to 3,017,720, and in the private sector of 22,385 against a loss of 20,471 pupils in government schools. The loss in the government sector was caused by a reduction of pupil numbers in primary schools, offset by a gain in secondary numbers of 30,000. Independent primary school rolls, on the other hand, increased by about 8000. The increase in secondary rolls owed something to the government's wish to encourage staying on to the completion of secondary education in government schools, where the retention rate has always been much lower than in the private sector. The **1985** figures, when compared with 1984 returns, again show an increase in primary numbers of 7030 (1.77%) and in secondary of 29,134 (8.6%), and an overall increase for the sector of 18,167 (2.4%). There were 29,718 fewer pupils in government schools, a drop of 1.3% in the same period. The figures clearly show that non-government enrolments rose and continue to rise at both levels at a time when a falling birthrate is reducing the intake of the government sector. From 24.3% in 1984 their percentage had risen to **25.79** in **1985**; and by **1986** it had further increased to **26%** of the total school population. The total count of non-government schools rose by 82 in 1985 over the 1984 figure.

(b) ***State Statistics***

There are interesting variations in the density of non-government schools in the six States and the two Territories, when compared with the national percentage of 26%. The same applies to the numbers of the different types of private school. To a large extent these differences reflects the geographical and historical influences to which reference was made in an earlier section.

The following table shows how in 1985 the 757,169 pupils in non-government schools were distributed between the States, the proportionate size of each State cohort compared with the total school population in the State concerned, and the percentage of Catholic, Anglican and other schools within the same cohort, rounded to 1 decimal place:

State	*N.G. Cohort*		*as % all pupils*	*Catholic*	*Anglican*	*Other*	*Total*
	as % of all N.G.			*as % of state total*			*N.G. Schools*
NSW	264,297	34.22%	25.8	20.4	1.9	3.4	833
Vic	245,176	32.38%	31.0	21.7	3.2	5.7	677
Qld	115,067	15.19%	23.5	17.4	1.6	4.5	396
WA	57,688	7.61%	21.6	15.5	2.3	3.8	217
SA	51,246	6.76%	20.7	13.0	1.9	5.7	174
Tas	17,050	2.25%	20.0	13.4	2.4	4.5	71
NT	5,044	0.66%	16.3	13.5	–	2.8	17
ACT	19,768	2.61%	33.16	26.5	4.8	1.8	35

Note the concentration of population in New South Wales and Victoria and the high percentage of children in these States attending non-government schools in general and Catholic schools in particular. The ACT is untypical, being an artificial unit with a very heavy professional weighting in the population. The Anglican schools, like the Catholic ones, are especially well represented.

These and most other figures in this section are mainly based on statistical summaries published by the Australian Bureau of Statistics and the Commonwealth Department of Education.

7. THE CO-ORDINATION OF PRIVATE SCHOOLS AT COMMONWEALTH AND STATE LEVELS

Within the private sector, there are two main groupings in terms of denominational or educational affiliation, the Catholic schools and the rest. There is another and equally important divide between those schools which exist and operate in their own right as separate units and schools which belong to what is called a system. System schools are normally administered and controlled to some degree and often owned by a central authority representing the Church to which they belong, and through which they receive an allocation of the recurrent grants awarded to their system by the Commonwealth and State authorities. A majority of Catholic Schools belongs to State or Diocesan systems (for which see section 8a below), but a number of well-established 'élite' Catholic schools, mostly run and owned by the religious orders, have a foot in the other camp, and, as non-systemic schools, apply for and receive grants direct. The other main systemic groupings are of Seventh Day Adventists and Lutheran schools.

At Commonwealth level in Canberra, there is no single umbrella organisation equivalent to the American CAPE, which embraces almost the whole spectrum of denominational and non-denominational private schools. The **National Catholic Education Commission (NCEC)** represents the interests of Catholic schools generally in negotiations with the federal government, and in particular the financial terms of subsidy and other regulations applicable to Catholic systemic schools. Like its counterpart in the United States, it is a powerful organisation representing two thirds of the private sector and an important section of the national and state electorate; and it concerns itself with all aspects of primary and secondary education from the curriculum to welfare and building standards. It is funded by appropriating 2% of the block grant for administrative costs, which supports a substantial bureaucracy.

Its main partner in negotiation is the **National Council of Independent Schools (NCIS)** which, like the Independent Schools Joint Council in the UK, represents the interests of the majority of non-catholic private schools of all types, including some which at State or other level belong to systems and others, like the fundamentalist Christian schools, which are not formally affiliated to its constituent groups.

Some non-systemic Catholic schools also belong. It is financed by a *per capita* levy of, on average, roughly $2 on the rolls of schools which are members of its constituent **Associations of Independent Schools** in the six States and the ACT. The Council consists of 28 members, 4 of whom are appointed by each of the seven AIS. One member of each delegation must be and two are normally school governors, and the chairman of each association or his nominee is automatically chief delegate of his group. Much of the business is conducted by the Committee of Directors, consisting of the chairman, deputy chairman and chief delegates with the help of a salaried Director who runs the office in Canberra and acts as spokesman with the media. Its declared aims are:

> to defend the fundamental rights of children and parents, freedom of choice, a strong private sector unencumbered by excessive government regulation but entitled to a basic recurrent and to capital grants from public funds on condition of meeting the proper requirements for registration or certification as efficient by State authorities, representation of the private sector on relevant commissions or committees, and the extension of taxation allowances to gifts other than those for buildings.

NCIS sponsors a biennial conference and publishes a periodical newsletter, as well as issuing information to the press. Its views are mainly a reflection of those of the constituent bodies and are said to be weighted on the side of governors of schools rather than heads, who nevertheless are quite strongly represented on State Associations of Independent Schools and often more *au fait* with the minutiae of grants and controls.

Although their common interest in the preservation of a subsidised private sector helps the two organisations to join forces and on more than one occasion has resulted in common action in defence of what were, from the Catholic view-point, the more privileged non-Catholic schools, their fundamental interests are not necessarily the same. It is all the more noteworthy that the NCEC and the Catholic hierachy have not been tempted by the offer of integration on something like a voluntary-aided basis into the State system, which was accepted by their opposite numbers in New Zealand and by most Catholic direct-grant schools in the UK when the direct grant was abolished in the 70s.

At State level and in the ACT the same dichotomy exists between Catholic and non-Catholic schools. The Catholic Board (or, as it is called in NSW, Commission of Education) in each State and the Association of Independent Schools join in negotiations with the State Ministry and the State representatives of the Federal Ministry either directly or by membership of an Advisory Committee or Council of the kind described on page 25. As in Canberra, the Catholics, while cooperating closely with their colleagues in other schools, maintain some direct lines of contact with government by virtue of their numbers and electoral importance.

Each AIS brings together representatives of Governing Bodies and Heads of non-systemic Catholic schools and of other systemic and non-systemic schools, though membership is in some States either not open to or not normally sought by some types of fringe school, for example the fundamentalist Christian Community Schools. There is considerable variety in their membership and constitutional set-up.

In **Western Australia** AIS membership is open to all types and levels of non-government schools, and the total of 49 includes 28 Catholic mixed and secondary schools as well as Anglican, Uniting Church, Lutheran, Jewish, Montessori and free schools. The Chairman of the Catholic Schools Board is a member of the Council.

In **South Australia**, because relations with the state sector and between the independent schools are easier than elsewhere, there is strong support for a policy of devolution of responsibility, which has resulted in a quite different pattern. The AIS has two members only – the SA Commission for Catholic Schools and the SA Independent Schools Board and its associated organisations. The first has 7 representatives, including the Chairman of the Commission or his nominee, the Director of Catholic Education, 2 Heads, 2 Governors and the President of the Federation of Parents and Friends Associations of Catholic Schools. The ISB, the members of which must be non-profit making, is represented by its President and Vice-President, 2 members of the State Governing Bodies Association, a representative of the non-Catholic systems authorities, the President of the Federation of Parents and Friends Associations of Independent Schools and the Executive Officer of the Board. The present Executive Officer is also the Secretary of the AIS, and both the ISB and the Catholic Commission are represented on the State Advisory Committee which advises the Minister on matters of grant and other questions affecting non-government schools. The present Chairman of the Advisory Committee is the Head of a non-Catholic girls' school in membership of the ISB. As a further exercise in collaboration the SA Council of Independent Schools brings together Heads, Governors, members of the Parents' Federation and representatives of the non-Catholic denominational education authorities. The ISB, like its Catholic counterpart, has a growing staff which includes research and in-service training in its activities. Its membership list of 62 primary, secondary and mixed schools (32 of which appear on the list of 144 non-government schools receiving Commonwealth grants in South Australia) records 23 Lutheran, 4 Seventh Day Adventist and 11 'Christian' fundamentalist schools alongside élite schools like the Anglican St. Peter's Collegiate School and the Uniting Church Prince Alfred's College and Scotch College.

South Australia has also been a pioneer in organising collaboration both between the private and state sectors and between denominational private schools. The Aberfoil Park Primary School Campus consists of 4 primary schools, 2 state, 1 Uniting Church and 1 Catholic, on a shared site with central administration, library and sports centre; while at Golden Grove plans are in hand for a low-fee Anglican High School on the same site as a state school and a Catholic school of equivalent standard. Both projects bear witness to the degree of confidence between the Minister and the private sector and between the denominations.

In **Victoria**, where relations between the state and independent sectors are less close than in South Australia, AISV collaborates closely with the Catholic Education Commission. Here, too, is an example of interdenominational collaboration, where a convent school has become an oecumenical secondary school supported by Catholics, Anglicans and Protestants. A Ministerial Advisory Committee of three, representing the Catholics, the AIS and the Ministry, has been established to determine policy over grants, after the lavishly funded State Board of Education, made up of representatives of state and non-government schools, parents and teachers' unions and others, failed to reach any kind of agreement on the scale of grant, to which a majority is opposed.

The AIS in **New South Wales**, where 3 out of 5 of the 850 non-government schools (equivalent to 75% of grant-aided schools) are in Catholic systems, acts for the other parts of the private sector. On the State Planning and Finance Committee, which advises the Federal Ministry on the needs of non-government schools, it is represented by 3 members against the Catholics' 4, while AHISA

(see below) provides delegates to two statutory Advisory Boards, the Secondary Schools Board and the Board of Senior School Studies which is concerned with the final two years of secondary school.

In **Queensland**, where 80% of non-government schools are Catholic, educational policy has tended to the conservative, and the state schools are still unofficially selective. AISQ services only the more traditional schools which qualify for Commonwealth and State grant and collaboration between Catholics and the rest is limited. As usual, many non-systemic Catholic schools belong and indeed form half of its membership. Another important group consists of the independent non-denominational grammar schools founded and endowed by the State.

The difference in composition and activity between the various AIS illustrates aptly the problems facing the supporters of independent education at federal and state level and the continuing effects of the very varied patterns of development in the colonial and post-colonial periods.

A third co-ordinating body, the newly-formed **Association of Heads of Independent Schools of Australia (AHISA)**, resulted from the marriage in 1985 of the former Headmasters' Conference of Australia (HMC) and the Association of Heads of Independent Girls' Schools in Australia (AHIGSA). It represents the combined interests of the two former associations at national and regional level, both in its own right and through its members' links with State AIS. Its role and membership are very similar to those of the still separate HMC and GSA in the UK, on which the Australian HMC and AHIGSA were modelled. Its objects, alongside providing a forum for members and promoting improvement in their own educational standards and nationally, include the encouragement of the communication and experience of religion in member schools. Like the British associations, its membership of 198 (111 former members of HMC and 87 of AHIGSA, 19 of whose Heads are male) embraces schools with widely different affiliations – 67 Anglican, 36 Uniting Church, 6 Presbyterian, 2 Lutheran, 3 Baptist, 2 Jewish, 1 Quaker and 24 non-denominational as well as 53 non-systemic Catholic boys' schools. Very few Heads of Catholic girls' schools belonged to AHIGSA in the past and therefore only a dozen are members of the new association. AHISA has two member schools in the ACT, 49 in NSW, 32 in Queensland, 21 in South Australia, 11 in Tasmania, 64 in Victoria and 19 in Western Australia. 35 of its Heads, mostly of major schools, are also overseas members of the British HMC and there is a regular interchange of representatives at conferences, which follow a similar pattern in the two countries, and are attended by most Heads. AHISA plans to hold biennial rather than annual conferences except in emergency. The conference has final authority over policy and elects both the officers and the members of the Standing Committee, which conducts the business of the Association as in the UK. Election to membership depends on proof of the independence of the school's Governing Body; the Head's freedom to select, appoint and manage the teaching staff and control enrolment and discipline of pupils; proper contracts of employment for the head and staff; and the quality of the teaching staff, the education given and the physical provision of the school.

There are regional sub-groups in the different States and the ACT which meet during the interval between conferences. Because of the devolution of responsibility for education to State governments, Heads of AHISA schools are directly involved, alongside representatives of their Governing Bodies, in the discussion of policy in their respective States through the State AIS concerned, and their influence is disproportionate to their numbers by reason of status and tradition, even if, like their British counterparts, they no longer dominate the scene.

8. THE VARIETY OF PRIVATE SCHOOLS

(a) *The Catholic Schools*

In 1985 enrolments in non-government schools showed 314,921 children in Catholic systemic primary and 126,235 in systemic secondary schools, a total of 441,156. In Catholic non-systemic schools there were 16,162 primary enrolments and 115,974 secondary, making a total of 132,136. Of the total of 1706 Catholic schools, 1225 were primary, 338 secondary, 126 mixed and 15 special schools. The total Catholic school population of about 573,600 represents 73.9% of the number of pupils in the private sector, and roughly 19.1% of the total school population of Australia. It is clear that about four fifths of all Catholic pupils attend systemic schools, which are conducted by congregations or lay staff for a diocese, and are controlled in most respects by Diocesan and State Catholic Education Boards or Commissions. State Boards are funded, as is the National Catholic Education Commission in Canberra (for which see page 23), by a *per capita* levy for each child enrolled in a Catholic school. These levies were in 1983 32c for the NCEC and, taking NSW as an example, $1.68 for the State Commission. In addition, Catholic systems are entitled to use 2% of the Commonwealth recurrent grants they receive to cover administrative costs. There are some variations from State to State in the role and membership of Boards, but in general their members are appointed by the State Conference of Bishops and the Heads of Teaching Orders, and include lay people as well as clergy. For example, Dr. Peter Tannock, the former Chairman of the Schools Commission, is a member in Western Australia, while in NSW two Archbishops and a Bishop share office with 12 religious, 10 laymen and other clergy. Apart from the general direction of educational policy, Boards act as intermediaries for systemic schools with State and Commonwealth authorities and allocate moneys to them at their discretion from the block grants awarded year by year and from sums allocated to them for some of the School Commission's Special Programs, notably the Disadvantaged Schools Program and the Library Grants Program. They maintain well-staffed offices which serve a number of committees as well as the main Board, provide advice and services for individual school Boards and Heads and organise inspections and training. Systemic schools, whether primary, secondary, mixed or special, are in general low-fee schools serving a local congregation or area; and they are predominantly primary schools and junior high schools. They are open to non-Catholic children and in NSW in 1983 these numbered about 8% of the total. Average fees currently range from a national average of $149 per term for primary pupils to $444 at secondary level. A more detailed comparison of income and costs with other types of school will be found in para 6 of the statistical section. The systemic schools are in material provision, teacher-pupil ratios and class sizes nearer to and, indeed, somewhat below the standard of equivalent State schools and their costs are proportionately lower over all. Their advantage lies in the involvement of parents, pupils and staff in a pattern of education based on Christian values and discipline; but, nevertheless, they are, like the Catholic voluntary-aided schools in England and Wales, more akin to the government system than to the rest of the private sector.

Non-systemic schools, on the other hand, which are the property of and are controlled by teaching orders, despite the steady decrease in the availability of religious as teachers and the increasing presence of lay staff in their common rooms, are autonomous institutions enjoying the same kind of prestige as the Anglican and non-conformist collegiate schools.

Their fees are higher and their clientèle more exclusively middle-class than in systemic schools and they mostly have a sizeable boarding element. In 1985 termly fees for boarding apart from the cost of tuition at a 'top' Catholic boys' school were, at $1600 a term, higher than those of most equivalent non-Catholic Schools, where they were about $1200+. Boarding for girls cost much the same as in other girls' schools, around $1100. Fees for day pupils were by comparison less expensive, ranging from $400 to $1000 against an average of $1250 a term in other comparable schools.

It is not uncommon for parents whose children have attended a systemic primary school to seek a place for them in a non-systemic secondary school – something which helps to explain the small proportion of primary pupils in their total roll, most of whom are in the junior departments of what are mainly secondary schools. Like almost all non-government schools in Australia they are not overtly selective in terms of ability at the secondary stage but their advantages in recruitment and in their ability to charge higher fees mean that their old pupils figure prominently in politics, the professions and industry; and there is no doubt that they have helped the Catholic community in general to increase its influence in Australian society. The most academic schools are probably those run by Jesuits, and it is in them that the classics survive alongside modern studies and science as acceptable disciplines. The Marists' and Christian Brothers' schools and some of those run by Sisters for girls aim at a broader spectrum, and cater for those who need a more practical training. Buildings are often grand and imposing 19th century edifices and the provision for games and extra-curricular activities matches that of the other élite schools for the most part, with the benefit of prime sites often in expensive city areas. Non-systemic schools, unlike their systemic brethren, negotiate their grants from the State and Commonwealth individually, and are members of the appropriate AIS; and the Heads of boys' schools mostly belong to AHISA. They are wary of too much involvement with their State Board and proud of their independence, which enables them to negotiate their own grants, but nevertheless owe allegiance to it as the central authority in Catholic education, able to exert pressure on public policy and opinion. There is evidence that in recent years the Bishops have attempted to increase their influence over the non-systemic schools; and in South Australia the Archbishop has insisted on bringing them under the control of the Catholic Board, so that they may no longer belong to the ISB. It is fair to add that, since Vatican 2, the orders schools have given more priority to the needs of the disadvantaged, the improvement of the role of women and similar causes. Overall, the purpose of Catholic education has been to foster a truly Christian outlook and sense of values along with the development of a child's talents and abilities. It has involved a great deal of unselfish work and expense for clergy and laity, and has touched only about half the Catholic population of Australia. A non-Catholic researcher, J. J. Mol, quoted by Alban Doyle in John Cleverly's *Half a Million Children, Studies of Non Government Education in Australia. Longman Cheshire, 1978, p. 130*, concluded that "those who have attended Catholic schools score much higher on the religious variables of the survey than the others. They go to church more regularly, pray more regularly, believe in God more strongly, are more of the opinion that the Church is appointed by God, and are more likely to have had religious experiences". He went on the say that they tended to have slightly more education than Catholics who have gone to state schools – a modest and probably true assessment at least for the systemic schools, and, in the view of some critics, for the others too, on the grounds that except for an able minority the

main benefit they bestow is in poise and status. What is not in question is the strength which Catholic schools bring to the private sector and the cause of independence, and the determination of the hierarchy to maintain the option of education in a Catholic school for church members, despite some argument within the church for merging systemic schools into the state system – a sentiment which is particularly strongly opposed by the order schools and by those who distrust the quality of education available in it.

(b) ***Anglican Schools***

Most Anglican schools, like their non-systemic Catholic counterparts and those with allegiance to the other Protestant denominations, have their origins in the English Public School tradition, and have adapted it to the needs and aspirations of a colonial society, though it is only in the last twenty years or so that the custom of importing heads of Anglican and Protestant schools from the UK has been finally abandoned. Apart from 18 purely primary schools and 1 special school they are essentially day and boarding grammar schools of which 74 out of a total of 85 have junior or prep departments. They cater mainly for middle-class, professional and farming families, whose children they prepare for tertiary education and appropriate careers. Some of the most famous, like St. Peter's College in Adelaide, The King's School, Paramatta and Melbourne Church of England Grammar School, are old foundations with a long history. They include single sex schools for boys and girls, and a smaller but growing number, at present 22 in all, which are either fully or partly co-educational, often as the result of an amalgamation of separate boys' and girls' schools in a country area like Charters Towers in northern Queensland, but including top schools like Geelong Grammar School. Some of them, unlike their English equivalents, are controlled directly or indirectly by a local synod through its nominees on their governing bodies, and it is not uncommon for the synod to be the trustee owner of the school estate. A few schools in Queensland and Victoria are run by religious orders. The majority are independent charitable foundations of the familiar kind, though firmly rooted in the Anglican tradition, and often quite closely involved in Anglican affairs.

More recently the church has begun to experiment in the establishment of special schools for the handicapped and of low-cost schools in disadvantaged or newly developed areas which attract a high degree of federal and state grant – for example, in South Australia, where the Church has set up an Anglican Schools Commission with a paid executive and secretarial staff and is attempting to establish an Anglican system within which it will exercise trusteeship of new schools, control their operation, engage in fund-raising and provide services in return for a 2% levy on fees. Its first project, already referred to in section 6 above, is for a community-based high school of 600 pupils at Golden Grove outside Adelaide on a site shared with a government school of the same size. This new policy reflects disquiet amongst Anglicans and other Christian groups about the élitist image of the established schools, their still largely Tory traditions and their still basically academic approach to curriculum despite a virtually comprehensive intake in terms of ability and a much wider range of options; but it is not matched by any decrease in demand for what they offer, especially from first generation families who, with favourable tax allowances and two incomes to help, make sacrifices to afford the fees. If it is extended, with the help of government money channelled through the State-based New Schools Committees, it will widen the impact of Anglicanism in the same way as the voluntary-aided church schools do in the UK, while avoiding unwelcome entanglement in the government system.

Anglican schools educated 68,683 pupils in 1985, as against 132,031 in Catholic non-systemic schools and 122,497 in the rest of the non-systemic group, an increase of just over 2000 over the previous year. Like the English 'public' schools, their impact, though still firmly based in Christian tradition, tends to reflect the social mores and aspirations of an increasingly material community at large, rather than those of the faithful – something which was borne out by a survey of attitudes to belief of staff and pupils in Melbourne schools which showed 84% commitment in a Jesuit College compared with 11.7% in Melbourne Grammar School. In most other respects they share the same ethos, have the same strengths and are open to the same criticisms as their Catholic and Protestant analogues.

(c) ***Uniting Church, Presbyterian and Baptist foundations***

These three groups, comprising some 11 primary, 3 secondary and 61 mixed schools stem from a tradition of free-church education established early in colonial history, and, with the exception of the mainly Baptist primary schools, fulfil a role similar to that of the Anglican and non-systemic Catholic sectors by providing an academic grammar school education on the English public school model for their respective communities. With the amalgamation of the Methodists, Congregationalists and a section of the Presbyterian community into what is called the Uniting Church, their schools now describe themselves as Uniting Church Schools; but school titles like Presbyterian or Methodist Ladies' College, Scotch, Scots and Knox College remain in use. Those which belong to the section of the Presbyterian Church which has joined the Uniting group must be distinguished from the stricter adherents to the old Scottish Presbyterian tradition. Many, like Newington College in Sydney and Wesley College in Melbourne, are early foundations with a long and distinguished history and were prominent in the establishment of the Headmasters' Conference or the Association of Heads of Girls' Schools, now united in the newly-formed AHISA. Later 20th century foundations, like Carey Baptist Grammar School in Melbourne, were equally loyal to the public school ethos, while Presbyterian Ladies' Colleges in particular, often under male Heads, were established for the production of Christian gentlewomen. These schools share with their English counterparts a somewhat less conservative and more radical spirit than is typical of Anglican schools; but they are equally devoted to the development of leadership, social poise, games and outdoor pursuits as well as to preparation for admission to higher education, and have had to come to terms with the fact that in the 20th century parents select them more for social reasons than for strict adherence to a creed.

(d) ***Non-denominational Schools***

The *Directory of Independent Secondary Schools*, published by the National Fund Raising Counsel of Australia Ltd, lists a number of schools some of which subscribe to Christian principles but are not officially affiliated to a denomination, while others avow secular 'progressive' or 'alternative' philosophies.

Of particular interest are the **non-denominational fee-paying Grammar School foundations** established by Act of Parliament in the second half of the 19th century in NSW and Queensland. Sydney Grammar School, the only foundation in New South Wales, was dedicated to the better advancement of religion and morality and the promotion of useful knowledge, but the 10 original foundations in Queensland, now reduced to 8 by amalgamation, were for the encouragement of learning. Nevertheless their style is that of the Anglican and Protestant schools and there is strong emphasis on Christian beliefs and principles. They were awarded building

grants and annual endowments, which have now ceased in Sydney and are of minimal value in Queensland because they have not been adjusted for depreciation. Their fees are, however, reduced by virtue of Commonwealth and State recurrent grants like those of other non-government schools, although to a decreasing extent, since they come into the higher and less generously subsidised categories. Sydney and Brisbane Grammar Schools in particular are highly selective compared with most Australian schools, and though their originally classical curriculum has been adjusted to modern needs they remain academic schools with a very wide range of extra-curricular activities and have much in common with the former direct-grant schools in the UK. They cater for boarders and day pupils, mostly from middle-class homes, have imposing buildings and facilities, and are supported by powerful old-pupil associations whose members are prominent in public life.

A second group comprises 13 girls' schools of distinction and pioneer feminist ancestry which are nominally undenominational but have strong links with Protestantism. One of the best known is Frensham, which, like others in the group, has a reputation for experiment in social service as well as high standards of conduct and application to study.

A third group, very different in objectives, comprises some 30 or more 'alternative' schools, including 7 Steiner and 9 Montessori schools. They are non-profit-making as a qualification for the receipt of grant and are mostly co-educational. Those sometimes styled 'free' schools are often controlled by parent or pupil councils and sometimes lack a nominated head. A typical example, Foothills School in Western Australia, is a community school which has much in common with Neill's Summerhill. It has 100 secondary pupils, a Council of 6 parents, 3 teachers, 3 pupils and 3 community members, is an incorporated body with legal identity and in 1985 charged fees of $1950 a year. Recurrent grants amounted to $1548, an indication of the support available to low-fee schools. Help with capital projects had also been received. Pupils in schools of this type come mainly from liberal or progressive middle-class homes and include children who have dropped out from conventional schools. There are about 7 self-styled Marxist primary schools in New South Wales, ranging in numbers from about 80 to 120. They are parent-controlled, have no teacher-direction and do not recognise themselves as belonging to a group.

(e) ***The Lutheran Schools***

The 61 Lutheran schools are concentrated mainly in Victoria, New South Wales, Queensland and South Australia. There are 50 primary, 9 secondary and 2 mixed schools. After long years of controversy and of refusal to accept State regulation of education and financial subsidies, the Lutherans united in 1966 to form the Lutheran Church of Australia, which also has a District in New Zealand. Both primary and secondary schools receive government grants and are coeducational. The secondary schools include the long established Concordia and Immanuel Colleges in South Australia, which have boarding sections and closely resemble the other denominational schools in organisation. They admit almost 17% of non-Lutheran pupils whose parents subscribe to their strict religious views. Lutheran education is now co-ordinated by a National Directorate in Canberra, and the primary schools in S. Australia are organised in a Lutheran system with 2916 pupils. In 1986 fees at primary level were up to $500 per annum and at secondary level from $1001 to $2000 pa.

(f) ***Jewish Schools***

Until comparatively recently Jewish children have been educated in state or non-Jewish private schools, with religious instruction from visiting rabbis or in weekend schools of their own. By 1984 there were 16 Jewish coeducational day schools in Australia – 8 in Melbourne, 5 in Sydney and 1 in Adelaide, Perth and Canberra. About half have either a partial or full secondary stage in addition to kindergarten and primary. Numbers average about 300, except for Moriah College in Sydney with about 1000 pupils and Mt. Scopus in Melbourne with almost 2500. The overall total is more than 6000. As in Jewish schools elsewhere Hebrew and religious studies figure largely in addition to the normal curriculum and Zionism is fostered. Most pupils remain to the end of the secondary course where this is available. In 1986 fees ranged from $1000 to $2000 pa at primary, $2000-3000 at junior secondary and $3000-5000 at senior secondary level, but are usually adjusted according to parental means.

(g) ***Seventh Day Adventist Systemic Schools***

Seventh Day Adventist Schools in all countries have close links with the parent church in the US and tend to follow a similar philosophy and pattern. Enrolment has increased since 1900 from a little short of 300 to 5933 pupils in 1985. There are 80 schools in all; 57 are primary, 8 secondary and 15 mixed. 2 have some boarders. They are organised in 4 systems which receive block grants from the Commonwealth. The systems are organised by the Education Boards of the North New South Wales, South New South Wales, Western Australia, and Tasmania Conferences of the Church, with increasingly central control from its national Headquarters in Canberra, the Central Staffing Committee of which deals with appointment of staff in all schools in the 4 systems. Schools are closely linked with local congregations who are expected to contribute a quarter of the expenses; and fees provide about half. They have only recently agreed to accept recurrent as opposed to capital grants and are determined to keep in hand money for further expansion and as a fall-back resource should government impose unwelcome conditions for the receipt of grant. Teacher training and curriculum follow the pattern set by the parent body in the US and until recently all teachers were trained at the Church's own college at Avondale. Only full members of the Church are eligible for appointment. Standards are apparently high, at least in the larger schools, and many schools have good, new buildings dating from the time when they qualified only for capital grant. In 1986 fees ranged from $1200-$2850 pa.

(h) ***Christian Fundamentalist Schools***

As in the US and Canada, the last ten years have been marked by the establishment of rapidly growing and quite highly organised groups of Christian schools which reject what they see as the evils of modern society and their reflection in both government and the majority of non-government denominational schools, in favour of what they call a Christ-centred curriculum.

Christian Community Schools Limited was founded by a group of Baptist Churches in 1975, and now has some 60 member schools with roughly 4500 pupils. The largest number is in NSW, and some are still only in process of formation. School affiliated to CCSL must accept its Confession of Faith and philosophy, meet minimum approved standards and pay an annual fee. Additional income comes from the production and marketing of curriculum material and from donations. Schools which meet State standards are eligible for Commonwealth and State grants.

A second group of about 50 Parent Controlled Schools belong to the National Union of Associations of Christian Parent Controlled Schools through their respective State associations. Once again the largest number is in NSW. Each school is run and owned by a local association of parents and many of them benefited from grant aid in 1985. In all they had in that year 8899 pupils, an increase of 11.6% over 1984.

The third group of perhaps 70 mainly small schools is under the aegis of Accelerated Christian Education Incorporated of Texas, for which see the author's *Private Education in the US and Canada, p. 17.* They use processed curriculum material under ACE direction, often depend on untrained staff and offer little or no class work or extra-curricular activity. Secondary schools are not government registered but primary schools accept grant when eligible.

A fourth small group uses what are called Life Care programmes, also stemming from the US and a little less rigid than those of ACE.

Fees in all these schools are kept to a minimum, with reductions for siblings and sometimes free education for a fourth child. Many of them ask parents to pay according to their means.

(i) ***Other Private Schools***

There is a single grant-aided Quaker school in Tasmania and a Greek Orthodox school in Melbourne, where is what is said to be the biggest Greek population outside Athens. A Muslim and a Japanese school also qualify.

(j) ***Special Schools***

The private sector includes 93 aided special schools. 15 are Catholic, 1 is Anglican and 77 are classed as 'other' – i.e. independent of the main denominational groups. 4 are Rudolf Steiner schools specialising in curative education; the bulk cater for autistic, deaf, blind, physically and mentally handicapped and spastic children.

(k) Apart from the Western Australian International College for overseas students, which does not qualify for government grant, the only profit-making institutions are commercial colleges and business schools.

NB The names and addresses of the more important organisations will be found in Appendix 2.

9. THE STATUS AND FUTURE OF THE INDEPENDENT SCHOOLS

With more than a quarter of Australian children in independent or non-government schools and a history of steady growth even in recent years, when the declining birthrate has been responsible for falling rolls in state schools, the importance of the private sector as a generally accepted alternative in the national provision of education at both primary and secondary level is beyond question. If we ignore the purely primary schools, of which the bulk are Catholic, a rough count of schools listed in the Directory of Secondary Schools which declare their foundation date shows 132 founded between 1960 and 1979, and more than 30 from 1980 to the present. In the later period especially there has been marked upsurge like that in the US and Canada of the new fundamentalist Christian schools reported in section 8h above, many of them primaries which may later extend to secondary level.

Amongst the reasons for this expansion the most significant are:

(1) the availability from the early 70s of Commonwealth and State recurrent grants and other aid by way of capital grants and loans under the conditions set out in section 4, and the comparatively modest fees which mostly result.

(2) increased demand caused by the uneveness of state provision, which results in inequality of opportunity especially in country areas, and parental discontent of the same kind as in other countries with what is judged to be the materialism, lack of involvement of teachers and taught and absence of disciplined learning in state schools.

(3) the incentives for fee-paying parents of tax-relief of up to $250 for educational expenses including fees, uniform, equipment and travel – now cancelled; of State allowances towards the cost of books, uniform, and travel to and from school; of various forms of assistance with fees for boarders from remote areas and of scholarships and bursaries, often awarded on an examination set by the Australian Council for Educational Research; and of the benefits resulting from separate taxation of the income of married couples.

(4) the advantage to non-profit making schools of freedom from pay-roll and sales taxes, and the encouragement to donors of funds for scholarships and bursaries – though not, as in the UK, for buildings – of tax relief. There is no equivalent of British charitable status in Australia but schools are normally incorporated as trusts which qualify them for these benefits.

The independent mixed and secondary schools are generally perceived to offer variety of choice in style and philosophy of education and greater commitment to the realisation of their objectives; to be more successful in retaining pupils to the end of the secondary course and in placing them in higher education; and to offer valuable extra-curricular activities, especially in games and outdoor pursuits, in addition to a more academically oriented curriculum than is common in what are now mainly comprehensive state schools. To these must be added the reflected glory of the high repute, especially amongst the professional and middle classes and those who aspire to join them, of the élite collegiate schools in membership of AHISA, whose tradition of education, developed from that of the English public and grammar schools, has rubbed off on other independent schools; and, more importantly, the strong links between the schools and the denominational and other groups from which they spring. Australian private schools are predominantly church-based, with a sprinkling of non-religious adherents to progressive or humanist beliefs.

It will be clear from section 8 above that the various denominational groups, Catholics included, contain schools ranging from the élitist model to ones designed to serve a local and sometimes disadvantaged urban or rural area; but that in general systemic Catholic schools resemble more closely the state schools in general provision and educational achievement and have costs which are on average below those of the public sector.

With comparatively few exceptions such as the famous grammar schools in Melbourne, Sydney and Brisbane, Australian private schools cater for a wider range of ability than is common in equivalent British schools, and the sector includes a significant number of special schools covering a variety of disadvantages. Even the best-known élite schools are in educational terms more comparable to a mixed ability comprehensive with a socially advantaged catchment area which allows it to recruit a more than average number of pupils capable of qualifying for a Higher Certificate and entrance to university. Admission is normally by registration at birth or later and is not, with a few exceptions, overtly selective in academic terms. AHISA schools, where early registration is most common, usually give preference to sons and daughters of old pupils; strongly denominational schools tend to require a reference from the local church and to give preference to church members, while Lutheran and 'Christian' schools require parents at the very least to subscribe to their main tenets of belief. The great schools are mostly fully

booked for the foreseeable future, but with the decline in demand for boarding and some cancellations during the waiting period are prepared to consider candidates a year or so before admission. This, since many of them have either their own preparatory school or a junior department, may be at no more than five or six years of age, though for reasons of cost many parents avoid fee-paying until the secondary stage. There is in fact a fair degree of upward mobility since many first generation parents register offspring early and the tax concessions mentioned in an earlier paragraph make it possible for the owners of small businesses and shops and others with comparatively modest incomes to afford fees which, with the help of grant, are in some schools no more than £500 per annum, and which even in the best known schools are not more than two-thirds of those of comparable British schools.

Materially the better placed schools are well provided with buildings, mostly funded by their own efforts. When schools receive a capital grant, buildings must conform to the stringent standards set by the Schools Commission. Many schools have magnificently ample grounds and other sports facilities, and are impressively well equipped with technical gadgetry, including computers as learning aids and for administration. Games and outdoor sports are immensly popular and the 'great schools' are not alone in having leagues which often involve 25 or more teams in distant away and home fixtures on Saturdays, with weekly vigils on the touch-line from dawn to dusk by heads of schools and staff. Art, music and drama are slowly gaining in prestige but are still poor relations to sports and, with a few honourable exceptions, tend to be very poorly staffed and equipped.

Secondary curricula are largely controlled by the syllabuses set for the Junior and Higher Certificates, which are in some States entirely and in others partially awarded by internal assessment as opposed to external examination; and, since there is no national pattern or control, uniformity of standard is lacking. In general courses are biassed towards the practical and scientific to the exclusion of the classics and of advanced study of modern languages beyond comparatively elementary French and Indonesian; and it is clear that advanced subjects are often chosen less for a pupil's intrinsic interest in them than for the chance of scoring higher points in the mechanised admission system for university in order to study some quite different course. Both at school and university level academic disciplines are a blend of older, inherited British practice and of American patterns which increasingly attract the interest of Australian educationalists. Contact with the US is close and American methods of school and pupil evaluation are increasingly popular alongside modular syllabuses, as opposed to study in depth in a more restricted field.

Teachers in independent schools are by British standards well paid, though not necessarily at scales equal to or higher than those of teachers in government schools. Since they lack access to a government superannuation scheme they are dependent on individual school schemes which vary in generosity. They are not eligible to join the powerful Australian Teachers' Federation to which State teachers belong and which is one of the main opponents of the private sector. The majority belong to comparatively new separate State associations for teachers in private schools with which the Schools negotiate salaries and terms of service; and in the last year or so there have been signs of increasing tension between employers and employed about payment for extra-curricular duties and special responsibility which, if the demands are met, would involve schools, and particularly the more expensive ones which will no longer benefit from an increasing grant from Commonwealth and State funds, with new costs of more than $200,000 a year for their commitments in games and outdoor pursuits like camps and the CCF.

Though independent schools as a group have widened the social range of their entry and some, like Prince Alfred College in Adelaide, attract entrants from a variety of ethnic groups including Italians, Greeks and Asians, the more élite schools maintain many of the characteristics of 19th century middle and upper class colonial society. High standards of manners and dress reflect the somewhat conservative mores of the professional and business communities in cities like Melbourne and Sydney and the landed gentry of the outback, and the public school traditions of chapel-going, prefect responsibility for discipline and tutor-pupil relationships remain strong. Many schools profit from the loyal support of old boys and their influence in the community; but there is little sign of strong opposition to independent education except from the more left-wing marxist section of the present Labor government, and from teachers and administrators in the state system who fear damage to their own schools at a time when numbers are falling for other reasons.

The size and variety of the independent sector, with its loyal and electorally powerful Catholic majority, its historical role as the champion of non-secular education based on freely chosen religious beliefs, and its broad range of costs making it accessible to the less well-off, secure it from any threat of abolition or of the total removal of government funding. Nevertheless, both the Catholic Commission and the National Council of Independent Schools are disquieted by the recent action of the Commonwealth Minister, Senator Ryan, described in detail in section 4d above and its repercussions on State policy when the State government is of the same persuasion. The Federal Labor Party professes its beliefs in the dual system, but is internally at loggerheads over policy. The Prime Minister, like his Minister for Education, is in principle opposed to the established system of subsidy for all and, after some reverses, has succeeded in re-emphasising the need principle at first proposed in 1973 by his Labor predecessor, Gough Whitlam. Like Whitlam, he is a pragmatist who has had to concede principle to political necessity. He no doubt hoped to split the consensus of Catholics and the rest which caused Whitlam's retreat and secured the system of grants current until 1984; but, whatever his wishes may be, and even though some supporters of private schools fear that one day the Catholics might make a private deal with government as happened in New Zealand, the concordat seems not to be in danger. One reason is that both groups fear that the transfer of the control and funding of recurrent and capital grants and some Specific Programs from the Commission to the Ministry will greatly decrease their influence over policy and make possible reductions in total allocations. Another is that the restrictions imposed on the establishment of new schools which do not meet the government's criteria of need diminish freedom of choice; and a third that new demands for accountability, not merely in expenditure of government money but to show that it is used for specific projects which fit the government's list of priorities, threatens the autonomy which is essential for the preservation of independence.

Given the declared hostility of the Labor government to the principle of subsidy and the fact that without it relative freedom of choice and equality of opportunity of a kind and on a scale unique in western democracies would vanish, Australian private schools face the inevitable conflict between the value of the preservation of independence and of broad participation in a national but pluralistic system of education – the same dilemma which faces private schools in the US and Canada and underlies the pleas of some either for subsidy or for a system of vouchers, and the refusal of others, especially in the fundamentalist Christian schools, even to

submit to registration by the public authority. Australians are well placed to strike a bargain which will maintain a sort of compromise for a time, but which will depend uncomfortably on the outcome of future elections. Their best hope would seem to lie in a policy which has an increasing though not yet large number of adherents outside the ranks of school heads – the transfer of aid from schools and their needs to those of parents, somewhat on the lines of the British Assisted Places Scheme. If this were feasible, it would remove the anomaly in the government's present concept of need, which does not ensure that parents of children who most need assistance to use the private sector profit from public subsidy because it is system-oriented rather than personal. It is significant that the recommendations of the QERC report (*p. 49*) reflect two weaknesses in official Australian educational policy – firstly, the belief, despite an acknowledged lack of evidence of improvement in cognitive skills in schools over the past decade, that school outputs – i.e. results – are good indicators of progress and should therefore increasingly be used as criteria for the reward of achievement by funding; and secondly that material resources are the main factor in ensuring good education.

Within the private sector there is a different danger – that the fundamentalist schools, which are seen as indoctrinating their pupils rather than educating them for self-determination and are therefore inimical to the increasingly popular concept of the 'rights of the child', might bring independent schools as a whole into disrepute.

The future of the Australian private sector thus raises policy questions of the greatest interest to all who believe in the values of independence and freedom of choice combined with the greatest possible degree of equality of opportunity for all. As so often in human affairs, what happens is more likely to depend on pragmatical compromise and electoral chance than on genuine consensus in a matter where opinion will always be divided. It is reasonable to believe that with determination and proper flexibility the middle way which the present system embodies will survive with some modifications even in the face of the severe economic depression which lies ahead for Australia and that it represents the genuine aspirations of the majority of Australians. The present system of Commonwealth aid, with its tapering grants for the established schools, is, bar a change of government or economic collapse, guaranteed until 1988 and virtually confirmed until 1992. What is certain is that fee differentials will increase between the élite schools and the rest; that new schools will be more difficult to establish except in designated areas or for designated groups considered to rank as disadvantaged; and that independent schools which do not satisfy the government's criteria of need will have to seek extra sources of revenue from their supporters by way of fees or gifts.

New Zealand

1. NATIONAL BACKGROUND

Three main influences have shaped New Zealand society – the first and strongest the British way of life imported by colonists from the British Isles, which, with inevitable modifications to suit the conditions of colonial life, has been and remains a conservative factor in forming the pattern of daily life of a community which is still predominantly rural and largely of British origin; secondly, the Maori minority culture; and thirdly proximity to Australia and particularly to New South Wales, the Courts of which were given jurisdiction in New Zealand by Westminster until it was declared a separate colony in 1840 and received a large new influx of British settlers. The link with Australia is close, but New Zealanders, perhaps because of the geographical remoteness, are different in temperament, more cohesive, less combative and more given to cooperation and conformity than Australians, while sharing their egalitarianism and forthrightness. These traits were exemplified in the establishment in 1936 of the first welfare state as part of a very progressive social programme, and have helped them to preserve a gentler life-style, which has only recently begun to change in the face of growing industrialisation and the economic and social pressures it brings. 91% of New Zealanders are of European origin, and predominantly of British origin. The early settlers made the Treaty of Waitangi in February 1840 with the indigenous Maori inhabitants, but, a couple of decades later in their greed for land, broke faith and defeated them in the Maori Wars from 1860–1872. Maoris now campaign strenuously with the help of liberal whites for a better place in the sun, while hoping to preserve intact their native culture. New Zealand was granted Dominion Status in 1907 to replace the colonial pattern of government by a nominated Legislative Council and an elected House of Representatives established in 1852. In 1947 it adopted the Statute of Westminster and Parliament was authorised by an Act of the Westminster Parliament to amend the 1852 Constitution. Queen Elizabeth, as Queen of New Zealand, is the Head of State and appoints a Governor-General on the recommendation of the New Zealand government.

2. EDUCATION AND THE STATE SYSTEM

Education is controlled by Act of Parliament, and under the Act of 1964 the State must provide free, secular education. Attendance is compulsory from 6 to 15 either at state schools or at private primary and secondary schools, which must be registered with the state authorities. All state primary and three out of four state secondary schools are co-educational; and there is provision for pre-school classes, special schools and rural areas. Policy, finance, building, inspection, the recruitment and training of teachers are the responsibility of the Minister of Education and his Department. Primary schools are controlled by regional education boards similar to British LEAs, and each school has a school committee the members of which are elected by parents and local residents. Boards of governors which are corporate, property-owning bodies funded by the Department and include representatives of parents and local interests, are responsible for single or grouped secondary schools, and enjoy considerable devolved powers. Universities are under a University Grants Committee on the British model.

Pre-school education from 2½ to 5 is mostly under the auspices of a variety of voluntary agencies which receive government assistance for the upkeep of buildings and the cost of teachers' salaries, of the value of about $24,000,000 a year or 1.4% of the national expenditure on education.

Primary school is from age 6 to 12, though most begin at 5. Two years of upper primary courses follow, called forms 1 and 2, either in a primary school or an intermediate school or in the junior section of a secondary school. Secondary education proper in forms 3 to 7 lasts five years and is punctuated by a complicated system of government examinations at 5th form level (School Certificate), 6th form (the Sixth Form Certificate, mainly internally assessed without a pass/fail element and not unlike the British CEE in design) and 7th form (Higher School Certificate, until recently awarded either on the completion of the five-year course or on the result of the Universities Entrance Board examination). It has been normal for one in three candidates to be admitted to university from the 6th form, one year after School Certificate, and the rest from the 7th form after Higher Certificate. Matriculation and the award of State Scholarships and Bursaries have until last year been based either on school records at approved schools or on separate examinations conducted by the Universities Entrance Board and taken alongside or after SFC. In 1984 15,042 candidates were admitted by accreditation and 4791 by examination. In 1985 the Labour government responded to pressure from teachers and from Maori and other minority interests by inaugurating the first stages of a new and controversial system under which 6th form candidates may be granted 'provisional admission' on their performance in appropriate subjects in the SFC. This will be confirmed only if they are successful in their first year course. One attraction of this revised plan for entry from the 6th form is said to be "that there will be an opportunity to consider admission for groups of students (e.g. Maoris) who are not well represented at present", but, provided that selection is rigorous, its main effect will be to afford the brightest members of the 6th form direct entry to university. The main entry will, however, be from the 7th form by a national examination which will be partly internally assessed. The future of merit awards is still at issue. Secondary courses include both core subjects laid down by the Ministry and a range of options, and aim to discourage early specialisation. A wider range of subjects is taken in the top two forms than the normal three of A level in the UK.

The state system is in general well thought of, well provided and well staffed and has largely escaped the harsher criticisms which make for unpopularity and falling rolls in many countries on grounds of materialism, and lack of disciplined learning and personal involvement.

Teacher training is on lines similar to the UK and Australia and the Teachers' Certificate is awarded after one or two years of service.

3. THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE PRIVATE SECTOR

The history of independent education in New Zealand is not dissimilar to that of Australia. A core of endowed denominational 'collegiate schools' such as Christ's College at Christchurch in the South Island was established from the 1850s on the pattern of the English Public Schools. Like their Australian counterparts, they were largely staffed by incomers from the UK. Their clients were from the upper-middle and professional classes and their boarding houses mostly served the needs of a scattered population of land-owners from remote country areas. Alongside them there grew up a number of Catholic and Free Church foundations, similar to their Australian cousins in ethos. Of the 55 schools giving details of their foundation in the *1984 Directory of Independent Schools*, which excludes the Catholic and other schools which left the private sector for integrated status, 10 date from before 1900, and 26 more from 1900 to 1950. In the following years new schools with secular or humanist programmes of education were founded

alongside denominational and interdenominational schools, and in the 1980s the spectrum includes all the types listed in section 6b of the Australian report, from the conventional to Seventh Day Adventist, Montessori and the increasingly popular fundamentalist Christian schools.

A major difference compared with Australia has been the acceptance by all the 250 Catholic and by 9 Presbyterian, Methodist and Anglican primary, secondary and special schools of the government's offer in the Private Schools Integration Act, 1975 of integration in the public sector. The new status, which in some respects is similar to that of English voluntary-aided schools, guarantees each school its right to "reflect through its teaching and conduct the special character of the education it provides" even when these differ from the provisions of the 1964 Act for school curricula and organisation. Schools come under the control of state-nominated regional or local boards and there is an elaborate joint committee system for the control of enrolments as well as a standing committee to review the working of the Act and its complicated regulations for withdrawal, for the tenure, certification and superannuation of teachers and for the appointment of teachers and heads to match the school's aims. In return, schools are funded comparably with state schools and may be granted loans subject to Parliamentary approval; but the governors or proprietors must plan and pay for capital works 'approved or required' by the Minister, including the provision of boarding houses. The only fees payable by parents are for dues to cover the capital costs of land and buildings, which remain the property of the trustees.

The scheme represents a compromise between those who favour extensive or even full state subsidy for independent schools with no restrictive conditions on their activities – the situation of Australian non-government schools until the present Labor government changed the rules – and those who would make all schools secular institutions under direct state control. Debate and controversy continue. The Catholic authorities claim that integration widens parental choice at a time when escalating costs would have required them to charge increasingly high fees to survive as independent schools; and that it will help to diminish mutual distrust and misunderstanding. It is interesting that a similar offer of integration was firmly rejected by the Australian Catholic Commission of Education, which has been given very favoured terms of subsidy by the Commonwealth government in comparison with other non-government schools. Many of the Catholic schools and the others which chose integration were at the time in financial difficulties and in danger of closure. So far there is no sign that they have accepted gifts from Greeks which will later rebound upon them, but there can be no final guarantee against future change in government policy in New Zealand, Australia or elsewhere, as the history of the British voluntary-aided schools has demonstrated.

The independent sector which remains lacks the support of Catholic opinion and influence but benefits from modest subsidies from public funds and is prized by those who believe strongly in diversification, independence of central control, religious autonomy and competition.

4. **STATISTICS**

According to official statistics for 1984 there were 10,798 children (2.32% of the national age group) in primary schools and forms 1 and 2 in secondary schools; and 11,070 (4.7%) in secondary forms 3 to 7. Together the 106 schools on the Ministry list account for 3.13% of the total school population, a very significant reduction from the 1981 figure of 9.3% and the more surprising because numbers in state secondary schools have risen over the four years and the declining birth-rate did not

affect primary schools until 1984. It is partly the result of integration which accounts for marked change at the end of 1982, and partly of more pupils staying on in state secondary schools.

Full-time teaching staff numbered 802 in primary and composite, and 375 in secondary schools. Staffing ratios were 18.5:1 in primary and 14.0:1 in secondary schools, compared with 22.2:1 and 15.2:1 in state schools.

The *Directory of Independent Schools of New Zealand* already referred to, which was first published in 1984 by a master at Wanganui Collegiate School, lists some 93 schools. Of those which supplied detailed information 14 are for secondary forms 3 to 7 only; 31 are all-through schools or have forms 1 and 2 as well as 3 to 7; and 37 are primaries, some of which, including the six schools describing themselves as Preparatory Schools, extend upwards to forms 1 and 2. There are, in short, four patterns of school organisation.

5. CONSTITUTIONAL AND LEGAL RIGHTS

Like the UK, New Zealand has no written Constitution. The right of parental choice and of the establishment of private schools is implicit but not overtly expressed in legislation about education generally and in the 1964 Education Act as amended in 1976. Despite the strong current of egalitarianism with its pluralistic implications which marks New Zealand society, the government did not ratify its adherence to the 1966 United Nations International Covenant for Civil and Political Rights until December 1978; but as a strong supporter of UNESCO it is presumably committed to its Covenant Against Discrimination in Education as well as to the UN International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights of 1966, both of which contain clauses favourable to educational pluralism. A Bill of Rights has been drafted and circulated for discussion but the text does not contain any explicit reference to education.

6. CONTROLS AND SUBSIDIES

The Education Act (Clause 186) requires that all private schools be registered and inspected at least once in three years. To be registered as efficient they must be judged to reach a level of provision and efficiency equal to that of the equivalent state school and 'inculcate patriotism and loyalty'. The penalty for failing to register, for failing to close on deregistration and for ceasing to operate without first informing the Ministry is a fine of $2000. Schools are required to keep prescribed registers and furnish returns annually or as required. Otherwise they are free from interference, but in fact receive useful advice and assistance from administrators and inspectors as well as benefiting from shared services. The degree of cooperation tends to vary with the attitude of the local education board and its inspectors but a sympathetic authority may well give a generous bonus in supplies and furnishing. The present government is proposing that all teachers should in future be registered, and the state Teachers' Union would like to be the registrar, but at present there is no personal appraisal of teachers by the inspectorate.

Clause 192 provides for assistance under a number of headings. These include:

loans for capital purposes at reduced interest and with parliamentary sanction;

the provision of equipment and furniture on the same scale as for state schools when there is an increase in roll or a new subject is introduced with the sanction of an inspector;

a range of subsidies, equivalent to allowances in state schools, for text-books, the library, swimming pool and incidentals;

a complicated salary subsidy based on the average costs of teaching a state primary or secondary pupil.

The maximum salary grant was originally set at 50% of state costs and the minimum payable at 20%. All-through schools count as two schools with one head; and any excess over state staffing ratios and state salaries which exceeds 10% brings with it a reduction in grant. The intention behind the regulations is clearly to penalise schools which have better ratios and salaries than the norm.

There are separate scales for primary and secondary teachers; teachers enter the scales at points determined by their qualifications, as in the UK, and there are additional steps for senior posts graded according to the size of school. In 1986 scales were increased by 15% over those of 1985 and ranged from $17,200 to $39,700 for a senior teacher in a large school and $49,000 for the head of a large secondary school.

The cost of assistance to private schools in 1986 was $15.3m or 0.76% of the total budget, compared with 0.8% in 1984. Grants have not been officially indexed but have been revised more or less regularly until 1986, when the Labour government announced a back-dated cut-back to 37½% for the maximum grant with a second reduction to 25% in April 1987. This will virtually halve the State's contribution to teachers' salaries.

Private schools also benefit by being largely exempt from taxation. Almost all of them are non-profit-making schools, which qualifies them as charities under legislation very similar in its definition of the purposes of charity and the concept of public benefit to that of British law. There is, however, some possibility that they may be liable for the new VAT type tax which is replacing the former General Sales Tax. As charities they can attract tax-deducted donations which are sometimes in kind, since farmers can allocate cattle as a donation, rear them and pass over to the school the price raised when they are auctioned.

7. BENEFITS AVAILABLE TO PARENTS AND PUPILS

In addition to the lower fees which result from state subsidies, parents of private school pupils are entitled to a deduction (in 1985 $200 or 33% of gifts or fees, whichever was the smaller) from their taxable income. The deduction for fees is allowable even if the school is profit-making and 'activity' fees at a state school also qualify. Many parents make family trusts which pay the fees of their sons and daughters, and discussion is now in hand about fee insurance schemes on British lines.

All pupils benefit from free text books and those who qualify may either use school transport services or receive a travel allowance. Government provides boarding bursaries for children from remote areas and in 1984 52 pupils at private primary and 734 at secondary schools received boarding bursaries worth more than $1,000 each. Those who obtain appropriate levels in the University Scholarship and Bursary Examinations in the 6th and 7th forms of private schools are awarded scholarships of $400 and bursaries of $200 or $100 per annum.

8. CO-ORDINATION IN THE PRIVATE SECTOR

The **Independent Schools Association**, founded in 1984, represents the interests of governing bodies and trustees in negotiation with the authorities and organises an annual conference in conjunction with the Anglican and Presbyterian Governing Bodies Associations. The agenda includes not only policy matters affecting independent schools but more general educational topics such as computer education and examinations. ISA also organises the ISA Supporters Club on lines similar to that of the ISIS Association.

The **Association of Heads of the Independent Secondary Schools of New Zealand, Inc., (AHISS)** is similar in role and membership to the Association of Heads of Independent Schools in Australia, the American NAIS and the British HMC and GSA. Its members meet regionally and at an annual conference and it is involved through its representatives in the formation of national policy in education and in educational development. Despite the integration of Catholic and some other schools, some heads of integrated schools have remained within AHISS because of their involvement with boarding and their religious foundation. In 1986 the **Association of Heads of Independent Primary Schools** was amalgamated with AHISS with the new title of **The Association of Heads of Independent Schools of New Zealand**. It now represents 51 schools, 30 secondary, of which 8 are mixed primary and secondary; and 21 primary, giving a total of 19,000 pupils. There is also an **Association of Bursars of Independent Schools**.

9. THE VARIETY OF PRIVATE SCHOOLS

As was made clear in section 4 above, the spectrum of private schools is closely parallel to that in Australia as described in the relevant section of the Australian report, except for the absence of Catholic schools. The élite denominational collegiate schools which form the core of the AHISS are sought after for their status and reputation, for their long tradition of sound, academically based education leading to higher education and preferment in the professions, business and government, and, perhaps decreasingly, for their religious affiliations and philosophy. The degree of stress on this last aspect and of control by Church authorities varies, as it does elsewhere, from school to school, and it is noteworthy that of the three Trinity Schools, St. Matthew's for girls, Rathkeale for boys and the preparatory Hadlow, Rathkeale now emphasises its oecumenical rather than its Anglican allegiance, although all three are Anglican foundations and Anglican in churchmanship. Twenty schools in all, 4 of which are preparatory schools, are Anglican foundations, and 11 Presbyterian. The influence of the English public school tradition and of successive heads from the UK is even more marked than in Australia, and there is the same excellent provision for outdoor sports of all kinds and for venture training in remote country centres. Other extra-curricular activities like music, art and drama are still somewhat less well-developed. King's College in Auckland is one of the largest boys' schools with more than 700 pupils, 25 of whom are girls in the top forms, and a small number are weekly boarders. Christ's College at Christchurch has 350 dayboys and 250 boarders who still wear formal uniform and wing collars; and Rathkeale 320 boarders, 90 dayboys and 70 girls from St. Matthew's in the 6th and 7th forms. Wanganui Collegiate School (founded like Christ's College in the 1850s) has a roll of 520, of whom 350 are boarders. Scots College, Wellington, a Presbyterian foundation, has 230 boys in primary and 390 in secondary classes, 52 of whom board, and St. Peter's at Hamilton just 300 day boys. St. Cuthbert's College, a girls' day and boarding school which was formerly Presbyterian and is now non-denominational, is the largest with 930 from age 5 to 18. It is not uncommon for junior classes to be co-educational in both boys' and girls' schools which take the whole age-range from 5 to 18.

There are 7 non- or inter-denominational schools including St. Cuthbert's, of which some were originally private foundations, and one is a former Anglican girls' school which fell on hard times and has been handed over to parent control. There is also one Mormon school, and a single Jewish secondary school in Auckland.

The Seventh Day Adventists are strongly represented with 19 schools, 16 of which are small, local primaries. As in Australia, they admit up to 15% from other

faiths. Most teachers are SDA-trained. Of the remaining three, two are form 3-7 secondaries and one a form 1-7 College. Only one SDA school belongs to AHISNZ.

Amongst what may be called alternative schools are a PNEU, a Montessori and 4 Steiner schools. Each Steiner school is controlled not by a principal but by a College of Teachers. They vary in size from 150 to 220. Three are recently established and do not go beyond the lower primary classes. The fourth takes pupils from kindergarten to age 18. Another school, Estuary Alternative Primary School, grew from a play centre in 1970 as a cooperative parent-controlled venture and has 12 pupils.

Fundamentalist Christian schools, which are increasing rapidly in number, come in a variety of types and many of them are community-based or parent-controlled. All stress that their education is based on a strictly fundamentalist interpretation of the Bible and some use the ACE programme (for which see page 33 in section 6h of the Australian report). Others combine their special approach with conformity to the state curriculum. Rolls are often quite small and premises improvised. Unlike their parallels in other countries, they do not seem to refuse registration, without which they cannot legally operate.

10. THE STATUS AND FUTURE PROSPECTS OF PRIVATE SCHOOLS

The private sector, despite the loss of the Catholic and a few other schools by integration and the recent decrease in state aid, is in the present climate of opinion in no great danger of an out-right attack by government of the kind proposed by the British Labour Party, or from opponents of a varied, pluralistic pattern of education. There is little evident class consciousness in New Zealand society, the importance of boarding provision for children from remote country homes is self-evident, and there is a perhaps slightly old-fashioned preference for a kind of education which is rooted in religious belief and aims at the development of the abilities of the individual in the context of an organised community. This last trait has been reinforced in recent years by the influence of the fundamentalist Christian schools, which clearly answer a felt need in the churches from which they spring and which do not accept the traditional and in their view materialistic churchmanship of the older foundations.

Like the private sector in Australia, the variety of private schools in New Zealand has been made possible by the grant of government aid at a scale which, while it provided at most 30% of total costs in a day school and 10 to 15% in a boarding school, helped, along with tax advantages, to open the schools to a wider range of parents than would otherwise be able to afford private education and made possible the existence of even quite tiny schools with the support of their local community. The present policy of reduction of subsidy by a government whose motivation is very similar to that of the Australian Labor Party and against which the independent schools are campaigning vigorously, has already caused some withdrawals on grounds of increased cost by parents living in rural areas, who have suffered severely from the farming recession.

In general the schools are not by policy selective by ability at entry, though the hinterland on which they draw inevitably makes some more selective than others and preference is naturally given to siblings and children of old pupils. The more élite schools stress the importance of academic achievement and their record of university scholarships and places, which is clearly aided by the high proportion of children in them from professional and middle-class homes; but even in these

schools the range of ability is wide, so that they deserve credit for the comparatively large proportion of their pupils amongst the 9.7% of school leavers who go on to some form of higher education or training. In the final count, however, and despite the comparatively high standing and efficiency of the public system, the appeal of the independent schools is in the quality of life for which in their different ways they stand and the commitment of those who teach in them.

On the élitist spectrum which is the inevitable but not necessarily unacceptable criterion of attempts to reconcile freedom of choice and equality of opportunity with the help only of limited resources in finance and human talent, New Zealand private schools still compare favourably with private schools in many other democratic countries both in terms of availability to the children of parents of modest means and of different levels of ability, and in variety of educational and religious practice. Nevertheless former pupils of the more élite, established schools wield considerable influence in a fairly conformist society. Though the sector now lacks the overt support of the Catholic Church and the Catholic schools which until recently contributed to its standing and strengthened its claim for government funding, and is facing a reduction in financial aid which will make it less easily available to those of modest means, it seems that its comparative smallness and the closeness of the community it serves give it a degree of security and confidence and will help it to maintain its role within the national system of education – a role which would certainly be upheld by the present opposition if it came to power; and there can be no doubt about the vigilance of those who govern and run the schools and the zeal of their supporters. All the same, it is facing more serious problems than ever before in its history. A second term of office for the Labour government may well see an attempt to put an end to State support in its present form, and by so doing yet further restrict freedom of parental access to the independent sector and push it further towards the élitist end of the spectrum.

There is concern too that standards may be weakened by the trend towards the abolition of public examinations and emphasis on social and vocational training in the curriculum, which the present Minister of Education has actively promoted in state schools. The independent schools are, in fact, considering setting up their own examination system.

Lastly, they see the largely Catholic 'integrated' schools now enjoying a uniquely privileged status which gives them the edge both on the independents and the majority of state schools – a problem which raises some very delicate issues indeed.

APPENDIX 1

THE STRUCTURE OF PRIMARY AND SECONDARY SCHOOLING IN AUSTRALIA

	S.A., N.T.	N.S.W., Vic., A.C.T., Tas.	Qld., W.A.
SECONDARY	Year 12	Year 12	Year 12
	Year 11	Year 11	Year 11
	Year 10	Year 10	Year 10
	Year 9	Year 9	Year 9
	Year 8	Year 8	Year 8
	Year 7	Year 7	Year 7
	Year 6	Year 6	Year 6
PRIMARY	Year 5	Year 5	Year 5
	Year 4	Year 4	Year 4
	Year 3	Year 3	Year 3
	Year 2	Year 2	Year 2
	Year 1	Year 1	Year 1
	Pre-Year 1	Pre-Year 1	

Pre-Year 1 is called Reception in S.A. and Transition in N.T.

Pre-Year 1 is called Kindergarten in N.S.W. and A.C.T. and Preparatory in Vic. and Tas.

APPENDIX 2

Private School Organisations in Australia and New Zealand

The National Council of Independent Schools (NCIS),
P.O. Box 279, Woden, ACT 2606, Australia. Tel: 062-82 3488

The Association of Heads of Independent Schools of Australia (AHISA).
Hon. Sec.: W. R. Dickinson, Scotch College, P.O. Box 223, Claremont 6010, W. Australia.
Tel: 384 1466

The National Catholic Education Commission (NCEC),
63 Currong St., Braddon, 2602 ACT.

Christian Community Schools.
Mr. David Macgill, CCS Ltd., 2 Cook St., Lidcombe, NSW 2141. Tel: 02-6491428

Christian Parent Controlled Schools.
Mr. Tony Deenick, National Union of CPC Schools, P.O. Box 143, Blaxland, NSW 2774.
Tel: 02-6715968

Australian Co-ordinating Committee of Jewish Day Schools.
Mr. Ian Rockman, Co-Chairman, 8 Lemprier Ave, E. St. Kilda, Vic 3183. Tel: 03-8483044

Lutheran Schools.
Pastor Tom P. Reuther, National Director of Lutheran Schools, 58 O'Connell St.,
N. Adelaide, SA 5006. Tel: 08-2674922

Seventh Day Adventist Schools.
Dr. Gerald Clifford, Director, Education Dept., SDA Church of Australia, Fox Valley Rd.,
Wahroonga, NSW 2076. Tel: 02 481061 (Wahroonga)

The Australian Parents' Council, P.O. Box 272, North Sydney, NSW 2060 has a number of affiliated associations at State level.

A *Directory of Independent Secondary Schools of Australia* is published annually by the National Fund Raising Counsel of Australia Pty. Ltd.

The Independent Schools Association (ISA),
P.O. Box 8961, Symonds St., Auckland. Tel: 396 095

The Association of Heads of Independent Schools of New Zealand (AHIS),
President: Mr. J. S. Taylor, The Headmaster, Rathkeale College, Private Bag, Masterton.

NATIONAL ISIS
56 Buckingham Gate
London, SW1E 6AG
Tel: 01-630 8793/4
National Director: D. J. Woodhead

ISIS – the Independent Schools Information Service – was founded in 1967 and became a national organisation in 1972. It is financed by the leading associations of independent schools in Britain which have more than 1350 schools in membership.

It was founded:

1. to inform the public of the true nature of independent schools and of their value to the nation;
2. to answer parents' questions about independent schools and to help them with their educational problems. This service is provided in London and at eight other regional offices covering the UK and Eire.

Each region publishes a handbook of member schools.

ISIS International runs a consultancy service for parents who live overseas seeking independent schools for their children in Britain. It also runs a service for both British and overseas parents looking for schools to match their children's special talents or disabilities.

The ISIS Association was formed in 1974 for friends and supporters of independent schools. Subscription is £8 a year (£10 overseas) and enables members to receive termly newsletters, ISIS literature and other benefits.

National ISIS's Research Project was set up in 1981 under Mr. Peter Mason, MBE, former High Master of Manchester Grammar School, as Honorary Director.

Peter Mason, MBE, former High Master of The Manchester Grammar School, is Honorary Director of the ISIS National Research Project. His address is Leeward, Longborough, Moreton-in-Marsh, Gloucestershire, GL56 0QR (Telephone Cotswold (0451) 30147), from which further information may be obtained.

Mr. Mason has travelled and lectured widely in Europe, Africa, India, North America, Australia and New Zealand, and has written numerous articles on education for national and specialist journals and magazines in Britain, Europe and the US.

He was until recently Chairman of the Council for Education in World Citizenship and was formerly Chairman of the British Volunteer Programme and of the Regional Conference for International Voluntary Service – a European co-ordinating organisation for Voluntary Service in the Third World. He is currently a Governor of an independent boys' day school, a coeducational school and a girls' boarding school, a member of the executive committee of the National Council of Voluntary Organisations, and a trustee of two educational trusts.

ISIS DOCUMENT No. 33, FEBRUARY 1987.

Further copies of this document may be obtained from National ISIS, 56 Buckingham Gate, London, SW1E 6AG. Price £2.00 (including inland postage and packing).

Copies of Private Education in the EEC (£1.00) and Private Education in the USA and Canada (£2.00) are also available. For both documents the price includes inland postage and packing.

Printed in England by G. H. Fisher & Sons (Printers) Ltd, Peterborough.

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